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The Sputnik Scare

Frank Morris

The Plight of Okinawa

Saichi Kaneshi

**Some Comments on Mayor Kaneshi's
Letter**

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Correspondence :

A Letter to an Author

J. Grossman

**A Protest Against the
Aerial Spraying of Dieldrin**

Margaret M. Nice

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A MAGAZINE FOR A DEMOCRACY OF CONTENT

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CONTEMPORARY ISSUES.

No. 35

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NOTICE.

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Frank Morris

THE SPUTNIK SCARE

While the officially instigated panic which developed following the successful launching of the first artificial satellite by Russia on the 4th of October, 1957, has receded as an already half-forgotten episode before the current "race" between the United States and Russia to gain "mastery over outer space", its examination in some detail is still worthwhile, because of the light thrown upon this apparent struggle for supremacy in the missile and satellite fields and upon the methods used by official propagandists to bewilder and silence the public whenever so-called defence expenditure has to be justified as a necessary sacrifice to ensure the survival of the West.

What this propaganda continuously endeavours to divert attention from is that the dependence of major sectors of industry upon armaments is not an accidental by-product of the cold war; but that, on the contrary, the cold war and the black perspective of the arms race are the ideological justifications for the continuation of a system whose moribund existence is only sustained by the ruinous and colossal squandering of the world's resources upon production for waste and destruction. By inflating Russia to the dimensions of an ever-present threat, now in the form of direct military aggression, now in the form of economic penetration, political subversion and diplomatic machiavellism, now in the form of a scientific challenge, the connection between armaments and waste production generally and the viability of present-day capitalism is skilfully obscured.

In the early days of the cold war it was Russia's alleged superiority in conventional arms that buttressed the continued manufacture of atomic bombs by America; but as the airborne atomic bomb gave way to the H-bomb, a stronger threat than mere conventional arms was required to overcome resistance to its manufacture which existed even inside the Atomic Energy Commission's headquarters themselves. This the Russian explosion of an atomic "device" supplied. The airborne H-bomb in its turn receded as the "ultimate weapon" as missile after missile capable of carrying megaton nuclear warheads attained ever greater heights and distances. With the advent of the sputnik, Russia's ability to launch artificial satellites was transformed into the possibility of her bombarding Europe and America with intercontinental ballistic missiles equipped with nuclear warheads.

Typical of the many statements by those with a partisan stake in the sputnik scare which served to propagate the idea that the West was now perilously on the defensive against Russia, was that made by Professor Wernher von Braun, co-designer of the German wartime V rockets and now civilian chief of the American army ballistic missile establishment. According to the *Observer* (22/12/57) he stated that

"it can be proved with a slide rule that the Russians can land an H-bomb anywhere with their intercontinental missile". So they may, on a slide rule, but reality includes factors besides slide-rule calculations. One of the factors is the "slight" fact that Russia does not possess an operational I.C.B.M. To dispel at the outset the myth of von Braun's slide-rule threat as well as the numerous other myths of this genre which have gained the stamp of authenticity by simple repetition, we cite a statement by the retiring U.S. Secretary of Defence, Mr. Wilson that, ". . . Russia does not have an intercontinental missile 'in its arsenal' and has not forged ahead of the United States in the arms race" (*Times* 9/10/57). In the same vein (but more illuminating) was the British Government's defence paper (CMD. 363, February, 1958, page 1) published four months after the launching of the first Russian satellite:

. . . But it should not be thought that this [Russia's "remarkable progress" in rocket development—F.M.] has upset the balance of military power.

In fact, the overall superiority of the West is likely to increase rather than diminish, as a consequence of the advent of medium-range ballistic rockets. These weapons, against which there is at present no answer, could, from sites in Europe and elsewhere, dominate practically every target of importance in the Soviet Union. The possession by Russia of rockets of equal range will not, for reasons of geography, afford her any corresponding strategic advantage. It would be of no use to her to attack Western Europe unless she could simultaneously knock out the vital strategic air bases in the U.S. She could at present have no reasonable hope of achieving this with manned bombers, and it will still take her several years to complete the development of an accurate intercontinental rocket and produce it in sufficient numbers. Even then, there could be no certainty of the success of an attack.

The first result yielded by these statements that the West remains Russia's military superior and that it will be several years before Russia perfects an accurate I.C.B.M., is that the so-called military threat of the sputniks, about which so much has been made, is shown to be a calculated fraud. Secondly, the fact that the Western powers have pretended to be alarmed by, and have publicly accepted as genuine, Khrushchev's frequent threats to bombard the West (e.g., during the Hungarian uprising), the while fully aware of their emptiness, yields the further result that, notwithstanding the real competition for world mastery between the two blocs, there exists at the same time an identity of interests between them in certain matters, which allows each of them to conjure up fears of a "potential aggressor" who can be relied upon to produce the essential façade of enmity at appropriate moments, when nothing else would serve the purpose of forcing unpalatable measures upon a reluctant public.

It was in an atmosphere in this case of officially generated sham enmity that Russia was overnight promoted to the rank of the world's leading power in the application of science to armaments; while, to emphasise the fact that America had lost out in the satellite race, its programme was variously estimated as being anywhere between one and 20 years behind that of Russia. Two orbiting satellites as against the dramatised failure of the much-publicised Vanguard rocket seemed

to attest to the validity of this claim. What was not explained by those who were finding evidence at every turn to support this claim was how Russia had achieved this superiority only 12 months after the West had declared that military aid to the insurgent Hungarians would have forced a *weak* Russia into a retaliatory push-button nuclear war (the later British admission that Russia was not able to retaliate shows that the West was more concerned to buttress the Russian slum empire than to help the Hungarian people); or why, despite the alleged advanced state of Russian technology, Khrushchev this year requested British and American scientific and engineering assistance in establishing a synthetic-fibre industry; or why this advanced scientific power finds it necessary to import radio-active isotopes from the "arch enemy", the U.S. Once such factors are written in, the launching of artificial satellites no longer appears as an index of the average level of Russian scientific and industrial activity, but falls into place as the isolated result of a forced effort in a single narrow direction: a result which is insignificant amidst the general and overriding poverty, misery and inefficiency of Russian totalitarianism.¹

The Surprise.

One of the earliest sputnik alarmists in the U.S. was Dr. Hagen, director of the Vanguard project and a prominent participant in the inter-service rivalry over allocations for America's missile programme, who, according to *The Times* (12/10/1957), charged the Russians with unethical conduct because of their supposed failure to disclose the plans of their first launching in advance, and claimed that they had been "racing from the start when no race was supposed to exist".

If by unethical conduct Dr. Hagen implied that the Russians had not observed the niceties of international scientific protocol, he is incorrect. Four days prior to this charge, Professor Marcel Nicolet, the Secretary General of the International Geophysical Year, stated that "Russian experts communicated the wavelength on which the satellite would transmit over a week ago" (*The Times* 8/10/57). Further evidence of Western foreknowledge of the first satellite was published in *The Times* on the same day. Commenting on the accuracy of the launching it states:

Moreover, the initial guidance of the satellite has been sufficiently accurate to send it into precisely the orbit mentioned by the Russians

1. Were the mere possession of some weapons of mass destruction, or the famous "evil will", of paramount importance in the ability *actually* to wage war, then any petty dictator could hold the world to ransom simply by threatening to release a routine unpurified preparation of psittacosis virus (which a single competent biologist can prepare) containing sufficient "respiratory doses per millilitre to kill 20,000,000 men: i.e., a quart of psittacosis virus preparation would contain enough virus to infect more than seven billion human beings, or about three times the total population of the earth". (*The Arms Race*, by Philip Noel-Baker, Atlantic Books, 1958, page 347.)

recently at the assembly of the International Union of Geodesy and Geophysics in Toronto.

As for the "race" that Russia was supposedly secretly engaged in to the blissful ignorance of the West, on the very day in July, 1955, that the United States made known its intention of launching artificial satellites as part of the I.G.Y. programme, M. Danjon, the director of the Paris Observatory, stated that France would not be a competitor in this "peaceful race" because of the huge expense involved. But aside from this indication (and there are others) that scientific opinion viewed the development of satellites as a race from the outset, the falsity of Dr. Hagen's charge is shown by the public statements of Russian rocket experts themselves. These statements reveal that at no time from the commencement of the Russian rocket programme was the U.S. Government, or for that matter any other Western power, ignorant of Russian intentions or of their actual progress in this field.

As early as May, 1955, the Russian Academy of Science announced the establishment of a special department for interplanetary communications whose task was the creation, at an early date, of a remote-control laboratory to circle the earth as a satellite. In the following August, Professor Sedof, a Russian observer attending the conference of the International Aeronautical Federation, then meeting in Copenhagen, stated that in the Russian opinion it would be possible to launch satellites of different sizes and weights within two years.

From the technical point of view it should be possible to create satellites of a much greater size than those reported by the Press [i.e., those announced by the U.S.—F.M.I.]. The Russian project could be expected to be ready in the near future, but he would not give an exact date, and would not say whether it would be before or after the American experiments. (*The Times*, 3/8/55.)

In January, 1956, Reuter reported that Professor G. Porkorsky, a member of the Russian Commission for Interplanetary Communications, stated that "the problem of interplanetary communications has passed from the project stage to that of practical implementation . . . We have all the possibilities to launch such a satellite in 1956". (*The Times*, 6/1/56.)

On the military side, the Russians announced in August, 1957, that they had successfully launched two intercontinental ballistic missiles. According to one report, the first of these carried a thermonuclear warhead (the British and American denials came months later without directly refuting the Russian claims). But in addition to direct Russian statements about their satellite and missile programme the U.S. was able to tap Russian missile "secrets" via powerful radar stations established in 1955, near the Turko-Russian border. Official reactions to the publication of this information by the American magazine *Aviation Week* was that "appropriate people" were studying the article to see "what, if any, action should be taken" about this report "which looks as though it might be a grave breach of genuine military security". (*Manchester Guardian*, 22/10/57.) The magazine rightly

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retorted that this was not really a secret to anybody but the American people.²

Had there been genuine alarm about Russia's missile "onrush", the U.S. Government could, and on its own premise that the Russian satellites constituted a threat and a challenge, should, on the basis of Russian claims and forecasts as well as upon their own intelligence reports, have sounded the alarm between May, 1955, and August, 1957. Dr. Hagen's charge of "unethical conduct"—as if power-political manoeuvres are based upon an ethical code!—, Senator Johnson's sensation-mongering cry "that we have had something like a new Pearl Harbour" and numerous similar statements by high State officials, become even more outrageous nonsense when it is realised that not only were Russian intentions and developments common knowledge among the informed in this field, but that Western experts also actively co-operated with their Russian counterparts, and thereby actually assisted in a development by which they later pretended to be surprised and "impressed". East-West co-operation was formally established in July, 1955, on the basis of Eisenhower's offer to share U.S. research findings with all nations, including the Russians. This offer was made known at an International Aeronautical Federation conference at which two Russian observers were present. Through the International Geophysical Year Committees, co-operation continued and still continues.

During the very week that Sputnik 1 was launched, a group of Russian scientists were in Washington attending an I.G.Y. conference on rockets and missiles. At the very height of the scare, the British scientist, Professor Lovell, the director of the Jodrell Bank Radio Telescope Station in Britain, who would like Britain to launch satellites for the sake of "prestige", received a telegram from the Russian astronomical council giving a forecast position of the rocket of Sputnik 1 and requesting the help of Jodrell Bank in observing its actual position. Professor Lovell obliged and promptly proved the Russian forecast for the 28th of October to have been incorrect.

These are but a few instances where information which could be used directly or indirectly for military purposes was willingly exchanged with the Russians. Among the experts "science knows no barriers", except when they confront the public; then their precious findings are rapidly transformed into State secrets which must be guarded from the pretended "potential enemy" at all costs, especially at the cost of freedom of speech. What is also evident from the evidence so far brought forward is that the mass of data accumulated

2. Other methods of "tapping" Russian military secrets were revealed at the trial of two Oxford students charged with divulging "secret" information gained while undergoing their national service to the Oxford University magazine *Isis* (issue of 26/2/1958). They revealed that British naval craft operating in the Baltic made a practice of sailing in close to Russian warships or into Russian territorial waters in order to intercept messages, and that R.A.F. planes would purposely fly over Russian-dominated territory to create incidents that would enable them to intercept messages from Russian aircraft sent in their pursuit and from Russian military installations.

about the behaviour of the earth and its immediate space environment is not an example of the disinterested pursuit of science in which the much-publicised I.G.Y. committees are supposedly engaged with the enthusiastic support of all the major powers—but on the contrary the gathering of information *mainly* for the purpose of furthering missile developments.

The Great Scientific Achievement.

Perhaps the most striking feature of the whole sputnik scare was the behaviour of Western scientists who, in marked contrast to the popular legend that scientists only give their expert opinions after an exhaustive analysis of all relevant data, were, in real Hollywood fashion, proclaiming the "latest" as the "greatest" within the first few days of the launching of Sputnik 1, long before they could have had the time to consider the matter carefully. It is at any rate a fact that, historically, the claim that the launching of Sputnik 1 was a great scientific advance is false; and for Western experts to suppress this matter of fact is the measure of their complicity in the deception of the public—especially in the case of the American rocket experts who include a large contingent of the specialists who made the decisive step in rocket development at the Peenemünde rocket station in Germany during the last war.

The following points may be deemed of decisive significance in the history of technology: we have invaded space with our rocket and for the first time—mark this well—have used space as a bridge between to points on the earth: we have proved rocket propulsion practicable for space travel. To land, sea, and air may now be added infinite space as a medium of future inter-continental traffic. This 3rd day of October, travel . . . (*V2*, by Major-General Walter Dornberger, Panther Books, 1958, page 19.)

That the author, who was commander of the V2 experimental station, and who is now working in the U.S., was correct in his statement is proved by the fact that all rockets produced since then are essentially a development of the German V-weapon—the U.S. Jupiter rocket is acknowledged as such. Compared with the first successful V2, the sputniks may doubtless be claimed as a *technical* advance but certainly not as an achievement marking a qualitative change in the field. In 1955, when propaganda was emphasising the purely scientific aspects of artificial satellites, M. Danjon had this to say about the scientific problems involved in creating artificial satellites:

Theoretically [my emphasis.—F.M.], there was no really difficult problem to be solved in creating a temporary artificial satellite, the difficulties were technical, and concerned the launching operations. To overcome these difficulties, a scientific staff and equipment and financial resources of considerable scope were required. . . . (*The Times*, 1/8/55.)

Given the almost complete ignorance about satellite and missiles, it was an easy matter first to proclaim technical advances as major scientific achievements and then, in a society where "bigness" is the criterion of success in every sphere, to present the Russian satellites

as scientifically superior to the U.S.' mere 30 lb. Explorer. What is "overlooked" is that the Americans were able to achieve comparable scientific results with their much smaller satellite by miniaturising its components—for their long-service transmitters the Russians used one-watt instruments, whereas the Americans used one-hundredth of this power with similar results—which indicates that the U.S. is most probably in advance of the Russians in at least some aspects of rocket development. Russian scientists "had not yet found a way of bringing a satellite back into the earth's atmosphere without its burning up because of friction at high speeds" says *The Times* (20/11/57); but when Eisenhower, in his "Science and Security" speech of 8/11/57, claimed that the U.S. had already solved the problem of "return", one rocket expert considered the President's references "misleading" because "recovery of the cone would be of significance only if the missile re-entered the atmosphere nose first and straight . . . and to informed people [who never inform the public—F.M.] recovery of a nose cone was meaningless" (*The Times*, 6/12/57). Had the Russians solved this "meaningless" problem first and irrespective of how the cone had re-entered the atmosphere, the faces of our experts would have been even darker with meaningful military implications.

U.S. "Unpreparedness".

Before the propaganda line proclaiming American inferiority in the rocket field had hardened into an official policy, William Holaday, special assistant to the Secretary of Defence for guided missiles, stated that the launching of Sputnik 1 was "not evidence of Russian technical superiority in missile development"; while in the opinion of the retiring Secretary of Defence, Mr. Wilson, the first satellite was a "'nice scientific trick' that had gained the admiration of scientists throughout the world. He believed that the United States, had it wished, could have done as much—and there seems little doubt that as a purely scientific project the American satellites in preparation are greatly superior" (*The Times*, 9/10/57). A British view, that of Sir Owen Wansborough-Jones, chief scientist to the Ministry of Supply, was that "this great scientific experiment" had done very little for the problem of defence. The opinions of these men cannot be dismissed as mere pique at the U.S. having "lost" the satellite race. On the contrary they stand on the firm ground that both militarily and scientifically, the U.S. is in an advanced state of "preparedness". In contrast to these opinions, Eisenhower sought to locate the cause of Russia's "evident" outstripping of the West in the "fact" that she had begun to concentrate on ballistic missiles in 1945 whereas the U.S. had tended, until 1953, to place the main emphasis on "aerodynamic missiles". Consequently, went official forecasts, the U.S. had now to go all-out in an attempt to overtake this eight year lead. Not unexpectedly, the Gaither Committee's contribution was the desolate prophecy that "short of an all-out defence effort until 1970 the U.S. was moving in a frightful course to the status of a second class power" (*The Times*, 21/12/57).

Yet, this once more is sheer nonsense: In one sense the U.S. missile programme goes back to 1932, for the German scientists and engineers who developed the first successful rockets in 1942 after ten years of research, were transferred in 1945, together with much of their equipment to America where they continued their 25 years of almost uninterrupted work on military missiles. Von Braun and his colleagues had exchanged one experimental station for another and under their guidance and largely in secret, the U.S. rocket programme made rapid advances. As early as 17th December, 1946, a U.S. Army modified V2 rocket reached 114 miles from the White Sands proving grounds in New Mexico. At this same proving ground the first step-rocket was fired on the 24th of February, 1949.

The large "booster", or lower component, was simply a German V2 with its warhead removed, while the small upper rocket was known as a WAC Corporal. Unaided, the WAC would have been able to rise to an altitude of something like 50 miles. Actually it did not start its own motors until it had been carried up to 20 miles on the top of the V2, and when the V2 broke away . . . the WAC soared on to a total altitude of 250 miles.

Atmospheric resistance ends at about 120 miles, and the exosphere at a height of 250 miles is so tenuous that it can be regarded as a virtual vacuum. In other words, the WAC had reached interplanetary space. . . . (*The Earth Satellite*, Patrick Moore, F.R.A.S., Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1955, page 49.)

By 1955, when the Americans announced their intention of launching satellites within two years, the Department of Defence was able to provide technical assistance, equipment and launching facilities for the "purely scientific" project. The Defence Department had been working on its own satellite programme since 1948. Its progress can be gauged from the fact that within seven years Eisenhower's "mostly aerodynamic missiles" had reached the stage where:

. . . a test vehicle, Jupiter C was fired 3,500 miles after reaching a height of 600 miles . . . once the aim of launching earth satellites was officially proclaimed by the White House, Redstone Arsenal offered to put one forthwith into orbit, at no extra cost, by fixing Loki rockets as a booster to the Jupiter. Redstone's satellite would have been very small and it would not have been very scientific, but it would have been first. (*Economist*, 2/11/57.)

Thus it transpires that already before July, 1955, the U.S. was able to send an artificial satellite into orbit; but from then until December, 1957, when the well-tried Jupiter rocket was used to send the Explorer into orbit, Eisenhower explicitly forbade the Defence Department to proceed with its satellite project. The Jupiter C had at that time already exceeded by 175 miles the height to be reached by Sputnik 2 over two years later. Moreover, when, as a result of the American 1953 series of thermo-nuclear tests, it became evident that a hydrogen bomb of vast "yield" could be delivered in a relatively small unit, the United States Air Force immediately speeded up work on the Atlas I.C.B.M. which the Convair Aircraft Company

had had under construction since 1946. By August, 1957, the Secretary of State for the Army, Mr. Brucker, could state that the Jupiter I.R.B.M. "has encountered spectacular success". Then on the 20th of September, 1957, William Holaday was reported by *The Times* (21/9/57) to have stated that the U.S. had successfully tested a ballistic rocket which travelled for thousands of miles. *The Times* comment on this was that Holaday's "discreet announcement" was an unusual departure from secrecy, probably designed as a counter to recent Russian claims. The report then went on to say:

This was Mr. Holaday's only direct reference to the successful firing of a ballistic weapon, but it is noted that his prepared text had him saying "we have sent ballistic missiles thousands of miles", a wider claim which the Pentagon had him modify by alluding to a "test missile".

The secrecy surrounding U.S. missile development was maintained until the launching of Sputnik 1. Then, as the scare gathered momentum, the "keep out" notices were ripped up at the Cape Canaveral testing range (but not at the Atlas missile centre in Wyoming or at Redstone Arsenal in Arizona) and the world was invited to inspect the poor state of U.S. defences. The spectacular explosion of the much publicised Vanguard reinforced this by now firm conviction. It seemed that the view of those who said that America was forced into a premature firing by mass hysteria over the Russian satellites was correct. But soon after the Vanguard explosion—which Senator Johnson of Texas described as "one of the most humiliating failures in our history"—Vice-President Nixon said:

"Don't sell the United States short in the military missile race." The Vanguard failure, he said, must be considered completely independently of the military missile programme.

"We're going full steam ahead with the military missile programme. You don't have to worry we'll catch up on the other (scientific) programme." (*Observer*, 8/12/57.)

Drawing out the implications of Nixon's distinction between military and scientific missiles (Eisenhower made that same distinction in his "Science and Security" speech), we arrive at a conclusion which is as crass as it is untenable: The sputniks, claimed by the Russians to be a "step towards the conquest of space" are, in Western eyes loaded with military implications; but by the devious process of official thinking (for public consumption at least!), the U.S. military missiles are shorn of all scientific implications, while the failure of the "purely" scientific rocket serves to accentuate the "need" for increased expenditure of public moneys on military missiles. Such reasoning and the maintenance of this false distinction enabled the U.S. Government to present its satellite and missile programmes in the poorest light. However, if one holds fast to the fact that today production for war is the decisive element in the fields here in question, then the distinction between purely scientific and military ends falls away. This is especially so in a sphere in which all research

is carried out under the control of the Defence Department. What is decisive in such matters is not the private "ideals" or the ambitions individual scientists entertain about space travel or pure research, but the practical unfolding of their collective efforts in a specific direction, described before an investigating Senate Sub-committee by General John B. Medaris, Head of the U.S. Army Ballistic Missile Agency, as "the manned domination of space" by America.³

In the military field the result of the fusion between science and militarism was that by June, 1957, nine of the 26 highly scientific and, for humanity, highly dangerous missiles identified by name were in service in the United States: five in the Navy, and two in both the Army and the Air Force. (See *The Times* of 13/16/1957.) More explicitly: The U.S. was in possession of some I.C.B.M.'s in "an advanced stage of development" (Eisenhower); tactical missiles with a range of between 200 and 500 miles, depending upon the type of warhead used; I.R.B.M.'s with a range of 1,500 to 2,000 miles which are, according to Eisenhower, for some purposes as effective as I.C.B.M.'s; plus large numbers of surface to surface missiles (the U.S. Army Corporal with a range of 90 miles carries an atomic warhead equivalent in power to the Hiroshima twenty-kiloton bomb), air to air, air to surface and surface to air missiles. Last, but not least, are the U.S. Air Force supersonic pilotless planes, the Shark, which has a range of 5,000 miles and is therefore an inter-continental ballistic missile, and the Matador, already in operation in Europe and the Far East, which has a range of up to 1,000 miles.

3. Dr. Wernher von Braun is a typical example of the split between private aims and the actual use to which the talents of scientists are put (with, be it understood, their conscious collaboration). *The Observer* (2/2/1958) writes:

His absorption with rockets began in 1930 when he was 18 after reading an article describing an imaginary trip to the moon . . . "I don't remember the name of the magazine or the author, but the article described an imaginary trip to the moon," he said. "It filled me with a romantic urge. Interplanetary travel! Here was a task worth dedicating one's life to! Not just to stare through a telescope at the moon and the planets but to soar through the heavens and actually explore the mysterious universe. I knew how Columbus had felt."

Despite his "romantic" urge, von Braun has in fact devoted the years since 1932 to developing military rockets; but he still (supposedly!) "thinks" that "all this military application of rockets—it's only a part of the picture, a means to an end". What "end" he wisely does not state. What a picture of degeneracy, of utter irresponsibility this conjures up! There was a time when science did not divorce its ends from the social consequence they might engender, when scientists of the first rank (such as Da Vinci) destroyed their findings because they did not consider society capable of using them humanely. Today it is different: dehumanised science in the service of capitalism irresponsibly co-operates with the ruling minorities in the production of ever more fearsome and ever more absurd "projects". Its attitude is in all respects a worthy counterpart of its activities: for instance, "space-medicine" (no doubt also a great "scientific" advance!) considers man a clumsy and inefficient piece of machinery; and is certainly not alone in so considering him. Von Braun is no more than a typical example (thousands of others could be named who are equally typical) of the boundless inhumanity and arrogant irresponsibility of present-day scientists.

A Digression.

Only a short eight years ago the U.S. Government dared not admit the existence of missiles, for fear of a public outcry was sufficient to cause the publication of the first reports of the development of atomic artillery shells and guided missiles with atomic warheads to result in the Secretary of Defence's being summoned before a Joint Congressional Committee for questioning as to whether his department had inspired the story. Since that time incessant propaganda has effected a lowering of consciousness to an extent where not only have the former "stark facts" become commonplace but in the now established lower level of "normalcy" the very idea of an ultimate weapon has been dismissed as meaningless. At the same time the erstwhile strategic A-bomb is relegated to the role of a conventional tactical battlefield bomb. Thus a weapon capable of reducing wide areas to a radioactive wasteland, bringing death and suffering to entire populations, and the fall-out of which is deadly to all organic life, is by a macabre distortion of language reduced in its military status to the level of a commonplace weapon and thereby dismissed by the experts as a possible answer to their manufactured Russian threat. It is, therefore, necessary to recall some of the known effects of the now conventional A-bomb.

According to Philip Noel-Baker the immediate casualties and other effects of the 20 kiloton Hiroshima bomb ("we" now have 80 kiloton A-bombs) were: Of a total population of 300,000, the killed and missing numbered 100,000, the injured 100,000, those still requiring treatment in 1957 numbered 6,000, and those who died from the after-effects during the year 1956-57 numbered 185. Besides the destruction and maiming of life and the unknown genetic effects, the barracks, the port facilities, all factories, all office accommodation and 50,000 houses were destroyed.⁴

Since the Hiroshima atrocity numerous "nuclear" exercises have been held which confirm the genocidal character of the "low yield" atomic bomb.

During "Operation Sagebush", a joint exercise carried out in the autumn of 1955 in the U.S., "a theoretical total of 275 nuclear weapons ranging in power from two kilotons to more than 40" were used. "If Sagebush had been actual instead of simulated", wrote Hanson Baldwin, the military correspondent of the *New York Times* (5/12/55), "it is safe to say that much of the 12 State area would have been devastated. Cities would have been partially destroyed and their surviving inhabitants menaced by radioactivity" (quoted on page 145, *The Arms Race*). An equally graphic picture of the effects of atomic bombs is given by Noel-Baker who, on the basis of calculations made by Professor Blackett that 500 A-bombs would totally destroy 400 square miles, and an estimate made by

4. From a table compiled from Japanese estimates and *The Times*. (*The Arms Race* by Philip Noel-Baker, Atlantic Books, 1958, page 122.) Some Japanese estimates give a higher figure for the number of dead.

Hart that the vital strategic area of the U.S.—big centres of population, business and industry, the coal and oil fields and crucial transport centres—was somewhat less than 2,000 square miles, arrives at the conclusion that only 500 atomic bombs of the Hiroshima type would be required “to bring about the complete disruption” of the U.S., even allowing for an error of 100 per cent in Hart’s estimate (page 144, *The Arms Race*). As to the futility of defence against such “tactical” weapons, Professor Blackett writes:

Suppose Britain expected, during the first months of an atomic war, to have launched against her some 1,000 sorties of A-bombers . . . Let us take 100 as the maximum number of A-bombs Britain could take and survive as a fighting unit. This would mean that not more than 10 per cent of the attacking A-bombers can be allowed to penetrate the defences, that is, 90 per cent must be shot down. This would be extremely difficult to achieve with our present or our projected defence system. If some of the attacking bombers carried H-bombs—one would not know which—more than 99 per cent would have to be shot down to achieve an effective defence: this is certainly impossible. (*Atomic Weapons and East-West Relations*, pages 47-48, quoted in Noel-Baker, *op. cit.*, page 162.)

If to the above we add the testimony of General Norstad, the Supreme Commander of N.A.T.O., that the Western powers could “launch atomic attacks on Russia from a perimeter of 360 degrees, manned by more than 250 separate bases, with relative impunity, and were capable of the absolute destruction of Russia’s ability to make war”, the inescapable conclusion is that without the addition of a single missile or H-bomb, the U.S. and Britain already possess the practical ultimate weapon in the “outmoded” atomic bomb.

When it is further recalled that the second H-bomb, exploded at Bikini on 1st March, 1954, was a 15 megaton “device”, or 750 Hiroshimas in one, which rendered an area of over 7,000 square miles radioactive, and that the U.S. already has tens of thousands of A-bombs, it becomes clear that even were Russia bristling with I.C.B.M.’s or even interplanetary rockets, the effectiveness of America’s and Britain’s strategic bomber forces as instruments of universal annihilation would remain unaltered. This is what the Western Governments attempted to suppress by forcibly riveting public attention upon the highly problematical military implications of the sputniks.⁵

Conclusion.

We have now returned by way of a digression to the British Government’s statement quoted in the opening section, that against the West’s M.R.B.M. there “is at present no answer”. Despite the careful qualification “at present”, the evidence we have marshalled

5. In 1955 Dr. Lapp, a former consultant to the A.E.C. estimated that the U.S. atomic bomb stockpile then amounted to “several tons of T.N.T. for every inhabitant of our planet”.

testifies to the fact that a point has now been reached at which the exploitation of the fear of nuclear attack and retaliation by both East and West is succumbing to the law of diminishing returns. It is by now abundantly clear that the mere possession of nuclear weapons by both sides, even if, as is the case, the West is greatly superior in the range and quantity of nuclear missiles, has made the whole previous propaganda of "catching up with the Jones's" absurd in this field. Yet the basic tendency in present-day capitalist society driving incessantly to ever-greater sheer waste production (which alone keeps the system going) remains and imperiously requires that the public be made to accept this diversion of social wealth into absolutely useless channels. Thus the cold war, which is the form in which this tendency finds its political expression, must at all costs be kept going by both sides, for it is the soil from which is gathered the perpetually renewed crop of excuses which make fabulous waste production acceptable to the public. The sputnik, as it were, ripened (whether by design or accident will probably never be known) at just the right moment to permit the needed increase of waste production to take place safely. In this, lies the meaning of the scare so assiduously fostered on all sides.

As if to order, *The Times* (23/12/1957) published this illuminating report on the underlying purposes of the inflated Russian threat:

The leaks from the highly secret Gaither report, which is believed to contain the most ominous statements about the relative decline of American power, have increased awareness of the sharpness of the Administration's dilemma: how it can alert the people to the full dimensions of the country's danger, and so prepare them for the sacrifices that must be made to respond to it, without further damaging its own prestige and the trust people have in it.

Nor was the Administration alone in its "dilemma", for according to the above-mentioned report

... Mr. John McCloy and other close friends of the President in the financial world pledged their full support for such a programme at one of the special meetings last month of the National Security Council; but he then expressed a "nagging fear" that the American people would baulk at bearing a burden which, far from making for tax reductions, might well call for higher taxes.

That the dilemma did not revolve round the country's danger but had much to do with sustaining, amongst others, the aircraft industry with its assured "market" in Government missile contracts, was confirmed by the *Economist* (26/10/57):

The end of the boom does not necessarily spell the beginnings of a recession, much less a slump, but Wall Street's predilection for extremes is coming close to suggesting one. Certainly it would take a definite rise in defence spending, or a substantial tax cut, to spark off a rally of any dimensions, and without a fundamental change in the business outlook, any rally is likely to be short-lived.

Without a definite rise in defence spending, the outlook would have been black for heavy industry, particularly for that exceptionally important sector, the State-subsidised war industries. But public resistance to extensions of the defence budget had already, in the preceding months, forced the administration to "economise" in the whole field of military expenditure—in everything except guided missiles; and in the face of mounting unemployment and with increasing signs of a "sustained recession" looming large, the public was in no mood to accept passively an additional tax burden. On the other hand, tax cuts were, in the view of the Administration and important sections of the business world, ruled out because of their "inflationary" effect! Thus the real dilemma confronting the Administration was how to overcome this resistance to increased defence expenditure.

Soon after the launching of Sputnik 1, the "alert" was sounded and notwithstanding Eisenhower's "fear" that the gloomy findings of the Gaither Committee "would panic the American people into going off in all directions at once", inspired leaks from the report by this body of leaders of industry, finance, science and education, tailor-made to remove all "nagging fears" and "dilemmas", did appear without so much as a mild rebuke to those who divulged findings supposedly so secret that they are withheld from Senate Sub-committees. It was soon discovered that "the public" had forgotten its demand for economy and was now demanding an urgent review of the nation's defences. In reality, of course, what had happened was that the Press, avidly seizing upon the sensational pessimistic "leaks" of the Gaither Committee, had whipped up the scare and that this manufactured fear, admirably suited to advance the interests of those with a stake in increased military expenditure, was then taken as "the voice of public opinion"—the public, as usual, having had no means of ascertaining the facts or of making its views heard.

Bowing to this "public pressure", the Government relaxed its tight money policy and on 2nd November, 1957, the new Secretary of Defence, McElroy, restored the \$170 millions for "research" which his predecessor had cut out in an attempt to mollify the public. On the same day the *Economist* reported that:

... there were indications that the plaster was coming off the ceiling on Defence costs. Mr. Eisenhower confirmed at his Press conference that the Department of Defence had been given permission to exceed its allowance for the first half of the present fiscal year by \$400 million, adding that the figure of \$38 billion for the whole year is not "sacrosanct". Thereupon the Air Force waived its decision to ration payments to its contractors which had caused so much alarm to the aircraft industry. And, as if to drive home the point, Mr. Armstrong, the Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Finance, was allowed to say in a speech that present military outlays were "mere stepping stones to very much larger appropriations and budgets".

The first of the post-sputnik budgets, that of January, 1958, allowed for a 100 per cent increase for the first half of 1958 over the last six months of 1957 in defence orders for missiles and for an increase of \$6 billion for the whole year.

The actual apportioning of the promised "very much larger appropriations and budgets" between missiles and scientific research rockets is not of paramount importance, emphasis upon one or the other being no more than an ideological embellishment, a mere change of label, that in no way alters the basic fact that the present "stepping stone" and future outlay of public money are to sustain a mode of production which every day more obviously loses all connection with the satisfaction of humanly meaningful needs. Still, the pretence must be maintained along with the mouldy carrot of a "just peace"; and to balance the possibility of worldwide push-button destruction, we are promised, amongst other wonders of the emergent space age, the really "progressive" possibility of an artificial satellite operating as an international television relay station.

September, 1958.

THE PLIGHT OF OKINAWA

An Open Letter by Saichi Kaneshi, Mayor of Naha

Miss Marian Pearl

Contemporary Press

New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Miss Pearl,

From time immemorial, Okinawa was a peaceful island and was historically known as the "land of courteous people". The islanders lived a simple and honest way of life. World War II, however, brought an epoch-making change in the age-old ways on Okinawa. Okinawans lost over 125,000 friends and relatives in the savage battles that swept the length of the island 14 years ago. It was the bitterest battle of the Pacific war and destroyed approximately 90 per cent of the people's productive industries, establishments and homes. When the war passed, leaving its scars all over the island, there finally was a possibility for peace and life on Okinawa. However, the islanders were deeply wounded both physically and mentally and they had nothing at hand with which to restore the good things of the past. The occupation forces stationed in the island generously assisted and encouraged the people to take hammers and shovels in hand and rebuild the island.

Okinawans were also anxious to obtain a spiritual peace through a new freedom and democracy in the post-war years. Unfortunately, the prolonged United States military occupation of the islands has created many unhappy incidents and sorrows for the people. Their earnest desire to reunite the islands with the fatherland, Japan, has repeatedly been ignored. Their basic human rights have often been violated by United States policies. I feel it is very unfortunate that

the actual policies of the United States military administration of Okinawa in the past 13 years has not been reported in proper perspective to the outside world, particularly to the people of the United States. I would like to be honest with you, the author of an article¹ about this troubled land of ours and answer your questions with truthfulness and frankness.

The United States should have lifted the occupation of Okinawa immediately following the conclusion of the peace treaty with Japan and granted the Ryukyuan people a fully free government. Instead of giving autonomy the famous Proclamation No. 13 was issued two months before the Japanese peace treaty came into effect and is the basic law governing the Ryukyu Islands to-day. This proclamation led to the establishment of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands (G.R.I.) whose chief executive is appointed by the U.S. authorities in Okinawa. It also establishes the veto power of the U.S. military authority over all Ryukyuan affairs and legislation. Furthermore, the proclamation directs the Okinawans to submit to all existing ordinances and directives issued by the U.S. military here. At this time we began to have doubts about the dedication of the American Government to democratic principles.

The people of Okinawa have been opposed to the colonialist policies of the United States in the Ryukyu Islands since the proclamation was made public and actually put into effect. We are very serious about defending our political freedom and inalienable rights as human beings. We feel these rights should be guaranteed by law to all men everywhere under democratic and morally responsible governments. The U.S. Defense Department's excessive emphasis on the indispensability of the Ryukyu Islands as a military base caused the administration here to make some serious mistakes, stripping the Okinawan people of precious rights. This situation caused considerable critical comment by Asian newspapers as well as officially voiced dissatisfaction by the Japanese Government. Japanese Government criticism of the undemocratic U.S. occupation policies in Okinawa was echoed in the editorials of the *New York Times* and by the International League for the Rights of Man. Some measure of public opinion in America is beginning to be highly critical of the U.S. rulers here.

Pressed by this criticism, President Eisenhower on 5th June, 1957, issued an executive order creating the new post of high commissioner for the Ryukyu Islands and subsequently appointed a "military man" to fill it. The executive order was rather makeshift and was basically designed to continue the military occupation of the past 13 years. The appointment of a *military general* to the post of high commissioner is certainly unprecedented and is most unusual in the political history of the modern world. The presidential order is in reality a new organic act which will now govern the Ryukyu Islands covering all civil administration ordinances, proclamations and directives. The

1. "American Oppression in Okinawa" by Marian A. Pearl, *Contemporary Issues*, No. 25, January-February, 1956.

Ryukyuan people must live under these laws whether they like it or not. The unchanged status of Okinawa is underscored by the fact that the presidential order was issued pursuant to the Japanese peace treaty (article 3) which allows the United States to exercise administrative, legislative and judicial sovereignty in the Ryukyu Islands.

Thus far I have described the general aspect of the U.S. administrative set-up here in Okinawa, but now I would like to go a little further into detail on the administrative, legislative and judicial practices.

Administrative Structure of Okinawa.

Eight hundred thousand Okinawans have been subjugated by the U.S. military since July, 1945, when Okinawa fell to U.S. forces. This is the case despite the fact that Japan was freed from American military occupation and was accorded independence on 28th April, 1952. On 30th April, 1953, U.S. Army General Clark set up the present U.S.C.A.R. (United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands) as a U.S. Government administrative agency to deal with civil affairs in the territory of the Ryukyu Islands. U.S.C.A.R. established virtually total control over the Okinawan prefectural administration and took no steps to amend or abolish the ordinances and directives issued by the former military government in Okinawa.

Legislative Structure of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands.

The legislative assembly is unicameral and is composed of legislators who are freely elected by the Okinawa electorate in the 29 districts of the Ryukyu Islands, with one delegate for each district. The basic characteristic of the assembly is its lack of absolute legislative power, its domain being limited to only a small portion of domestic affairs. Even the few domestic bills passed by the legislature have no legal effect unless they are approved by the U.S.C.A.R.-appointed G.R.I. chief executive and also by the High Commissioner himself, who holds a pocket veto at his disposal under the law. The lawmaking power of the legislature is severely hampered under this system. Unless the opinion of the electorate evokes the consent or at least a favorable reaction by the governing military authorities, the bills make no legal headway. As has been proven historically, everyone knows that the will of the rulers very seldom coincides with that of the ruled.

Executive Branch of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands.

The executive power of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands is vested in the hands of the chief executive who is an *appointee* of the military High Commissioner. What this system implies is self-evident. The chief executive is usually chosen from among the candidates whose political affiliation and character most conclusively predispose them to continuing the military-directed administration of the Ryukyu Islands by the United States. No thought is given to whether the appointed chief executive is a representative of the interests of the common people of Okinawa.

You will perhaps be aware of the fact that the present G.R.I. chief executive, Jugo Thoma, was appointed to the post by the High Commissioner two years ago. At that time he favored the military-backed formula of paying lump sums for land requisitioned from Okinawan farmers for building military bases. When the majority of the landowners and the entire population fiercely opposed this method of payment, Thoma, then Mayor of Naha, favored it. To the surprise of all, Jugo Thoma made a shocking public statement (or you might call it a blunder) following his appointment to the top executive post of the Government. He stated that he believed that the G.R.I. should not be construed as an autonomous organ but merely as an agent of U.S.C.A.R. No statement could be more discouraging to the people. These facts clearly prove that the chief executive under the present appointment system does not represent the wishes of the people.

Judicial Structure in the Government of the Ryukyu Islands.

The presidential executive order mentioned previously does not mention any regulations concerning the status of judges or methods of selecting them. However, the earlier Proclamation No. 13 clearly stipulates that the chief justice of the G.R.I. superior court be appointed by the United States Civil Administrator of the Ryukyu Islands (presently Brig. Gen. Vonna F. Burger) and that the chief justice of the G.R.I. district circuit court be selected in the same manner by the deputy-governor of the Ryukyu Islands (presently High Commissioner, Lt.-Gen. James E. Moore). The executive order provides the G.R.I. courts with jurisdiction to try all civil cases, Ryukyuan offenders as well as U.S. military personnel and their dependants. However, the same law empowers the High Commissioner to transfer to special U.S.C.A.R. courts cases which he thinks would be prejudiciously handled in G.R.I. courts. In criminal cases G.R.I. courts have legal authority only over those cases affecting Ryukyuans. However, here again the High Commissioner can remove from G.R.I. jurisdiction cases which he considers might directly or indirectly effect the security and interests of the United States. It is evident from the legal structure just described that the G.R.I. courts have a limited jurisdiction and often lack real authority even in the cases they try, because U.S.C.A.R. courts can review the cases and make the final decision.

The Lack of Democratic Self-government in Cities, Towns and Villages.

To ensure the democratic management and responsible administration of Shi-Cho-Son (cities, towns and villages) the district autonomy law was passed by the legislature on 12th January, 1953. The district autonomy law stipulates that the central government cannot interfere in local government affairs under any circumstances. However, after being freely elected, one of the mayors was ousted on 24th November, 1957, by the U.S. High Commissioner, Lt.-Gen.

James E. Moore. In order to oust Mr. Kamejiro Senaga from the legally elected mayorship, High Commissioner Moore not only violated the existing Shi-Cho-Son autonomy law but also abused his power by changing a section of the election regulations in the G.R.I. election law. He thus opened the way to get rid legally of the mayor with whom he disagreed. By eliminating Mayor Senaga from the post the High Commissioner trampled upon the human rights and political freedom of the people of Naha who had elected him mayor. The ouster of Mayor Senaga presents a grim example of the autocracy which characterizes military rule in Okinawa.

Immediately following the expulsion of Mr. Senaga, the people of Okinawa moved to defend their freedom. We formed the Minren—Liaison Council for the Protection of Democracy—in order to consolidate the forces of the freedom-loving people of Okinawa which included women's and youth organizations. The political parties joined in a bi-partisan effort to resist the military autocracy seriously threatening the basic rights of the people. The Okinawa Peoples party and the Okinawa Socialist-Democratic party specifically combined their policies and efforts under Minren organization to stand against the oppression coming from our high-handed rulers.

The special mayoralty election in Naha which followed the ouster of Mayor Senaga, was fought vigorously between a conservative-line candidate, Tatsuo Taira, and myself. Candidate Taira, official nominee of the Okinawa Socialist Masses party, was backed by all the conservative political parties and businessmen. It must also be mentioned that "Socialist" Taira was the favourite candidate of G.R.I., of Chief Executive Jugo Thoma (who was pushed publicly by the Ryukyu Democratic party) and Saiken Domei of the Naha Reconstruction League, the foremost group of conservative assemblymen in the Naha city assembly. Previously these assemblymen advised High Commissioner Moore to open the way for them to oust Mayor Senaga by changing the pertinent laws. It was understood that U.S. military authorities backed candidate Taira in the election. With strong Minren backing I successfully fought out the election with a broad platform encompassing the wishes of the 800,000 prefectural people of Okinawa—speedy reversion of Okinawa to Japan. The most significant aspect of the election was the solidarity of the people after 13 years of oppression.

Problems Facing the Naha City Administration.

The reconstruction of Naha City, the capital of Okinawa, requires enormous planning and funds. In July, 1955, Naha City received 87,000,000 yen in special aid funds plus 88,000,000 yen in loans from U.S.C.A.R. to rebuild the city. When Mr. Senaga was elected as mayor of the city in December, 1956, he was immediately labelled as an undesirable mayor by the G.R.I. and U.S.C.A.R. All the loans and special subsidies which had been granted before his election were suspended. Moreover, the national bank of the Ryukyu Islands refused

to finance city projects saying that the city administration would be unable to pay back the loans because of the new mayor. All these moves were political pressure intended to make it impossible for the mayor to work out a budget to finance reconstruction projects. After Mr. Senaga was removed from office Seichu Agarie, the appointed acting mayor, was orally informed by U.S.C.A.R. that a portion of the frozen funds, 8,265,000 yen to be exact, had been released to the city for road building!

I hope similar incidents will not occur during my tenure of office. However, if U.S.C.A.R. and the G.R.I. cancel subsidies and other forms of financial assistance just because American officials may personally dislike me, it will be impossible to fulfil my duty as duly elected mayor. U.S.C.A.R. will be blamed for interfering with the responsible administration of Okinawa and will be laughed at by the whole world.

High Commissioner Moore sent a message to a recent meeting of the Ryukyu legislature revealing the official American attitude toward the rehabilitation of the city of Naha. In the message the High Commissioner recommended that the Government of the Ryukyus formulate a budget for city reconstruction funds and establish a city commission to handle all important phases of rebuilding Naha into a modern capital city. My policy as mayor is to conduct an independent self-governing municipality based on our citizens' pride as Japanese nationals. I feel that the administration and the city assembly should both maintain an absolute bi-partisanship and should carry out projects reflecting the general interest of the entire citizenry. Let me emphasize the following: As the mayor of Naha I am in absolutely no position to cause trouble to U.S.C.A.R. There is no basis to the widespread rumour that I am a communist or affiliated with communist organizations in Okinawa. On 3rd December, 1957, I left the Okinawa Socialist Masses party and formed my own Okinawa Socialist-Democratic party. I am in the party's official leadership and have a policy independent of the communist party or any other political groups. Therefore, I will take no action giving any advantages to communist forces in case of a total world war between the United States and the communist bloc. However, I am a staunch pacifist and will oppose any country which will prepare for war in peacetime. Contrary to newspaper reports circulated among the American people, Minren is not a political party nor a communist party nor a quasi-communist organization. Minren was actually formed by the Okinawa Peoples party, the Okinawa Socialist-Democratic party, Okinawan women's and youth organizations and other civic groups united in a common struggle to defend democracy in Okinawa from the undemocratic American administration. Minren is in itself not a political party.

My Political Conviction.

I feel that my foremost duty is to make every effort to establish eternal peace in the world and prevent an atom-hydrogen bomb war

from condemning all of humanity to total annihilation. Therefore, I am opposed to the United States building Okinawa into a nuclear base.

It is my conviction also that we must strive for the speedy reversion of the Ryukyu Islands to Japan and thus abolish Article 3 of the Japanese Peace Treaty which has kept Okinawa under U.S. military occupation for the past 13 years.

The United States has been forcing farmers whose land was requisitioned for military purposes to accept lump-sum land payments for their land, the purpose being to establish long-term leases for U.S. bases in Okinawa. I respect the sentiment of the 800,000 Okinawans which is overwhelmingly opposed to the lump-sum payment formula. Therefore, I request the United States to halt the lump-sum payment plan and make adequate annual payments to those whose land has been seized.

We are keenly aware of the fact that the United States Government is exerting itself for the security of the free world, but frankly I don't believe it is right for the United States to protect peace and the free world at the cost of subjugating the people of the Ryukyu Islands and denying them their human rights. Why must the Okinawans sacrifice these rights? It is my conviction that world peace should include the Okinawan people. Under the present system of military rule by the High Commissioner and his administration Okinawans are bound to be deprived of their political freedom and rights. Until the United States returns the administration of Okinawa to Japan the military administration should be replaced by complete civil administration which recognizes and will guarantee completely autonomy for Okinawans.

Yours truly,
(signed) Saichi Kaneshi, Naha Mayor.

Kazuo Suzuki

SOME COMMENTS ON MAYOR KANESHI'S LETTER

General Aspects of the Letter

The situation in Okinawa has changed considerably since Mayor Kaneshi wrote his letter for *Contemporary Issues* a few months ago. On 1st August High Commissioner Moore was replaced by General Donald P. Booth. On 30th September General Booth announced a new land policy abolishing the lump-sum payment formula for land requisitioned by the military. Almost all Okinawan smallholders bitterly opposed this form of payment and insisted on the payment of annual rentals. Thus, one of the most flagrant sources of Okinawan

discontent has been removed after an admirable struggle by the people and their political leaders. The fact that this problem was settled peaceably distinguishes the Okinawan situation from the situation in Cyprus.

On 22nd August General Booth granted an amnesty to political offenders "to promote goodwill between the United States and the Ryukyu Islands". The cases against Kamijiro Senaga and Mayor Kaneshi are to be dropped. Senaga, deposed Mayor of Naha and chairman of Minren, was charged with engaging in unreported political activity since he made election speeches recommending Mr. Kaneshi in the mayoralty election. The charges against Mr. Kaneshi will be detailed later. Furthermore, just as the Japanese Government was about to grant aid for the reconstruction of Naha, the Americans announced a 6,000,000 dollar aid grant for Okinawa, including Naha. America considered the Japanese proposal, reflecting the deep sympathy of the Japanese people for their Okinawan brothers, as undesirable meddling.

Finally, on 23rd August America suddenly announced that it was determined to exchange B-yen (a war currency, 120 B-yen = 1 dollar) for dollars in order to establish a single currency in the Okinawan economy. The Okinawans became suspicious of American motives. They asked, why does America suddenly exchange B-yen for dollars at this juncture when things are more or less favorable in the Okinawan economy? Is the new currency policy calculated to delay reversion to Japan? The view of the Japanese Socialists is that the further control of the Okinawan economy by the United States will not advance the interests of the inhabitants. Without drawing hasty conclusions at present, it is nevertheless possible to say that American colonialism will find the new currency arrangement more convenient. There is great fear that the Okinawan economy will become enslaved to dollar capital.

Minren and Mayor Kaneshi

Mayor Kaneshi states in his letter that he won the election "with strong Minren backing". If we want to understand him it is necessary for us to survey certain aspects of Minren. How was it born? What is its political platform?

After the dissolution of the assembly by Mayor Senaga last July, a special election for municipal assemblymen was held. During the election, *Saiken-Domei*, the Naha Reconstruction League, was formed by those assemblymen who voted no-confidence in Senaga while Minren was organized by assemblymen who voted confidence in Senaga. The newly formed Minren accomplished the merger of the progressive parties since it included the Okinawan Peoples party, the Social-Mass party and independent progressive members. However, the central leadership of the Social-Mass party took a curious attitude toward Minren. Participation in Minren was not permitted to the whole party, but only to the Naha branch, since the party's right wing refused to co-operate with the Peoples party. Despite this, both parties initially displayed fine teamwork on behalf of Mayor Senaga.

The first crisis in Minren occurred during the special mayoralty election in Naha resulting from the ouster of Mayor Senaga. As their mayoralty candidate Minren nominated Mr. Kaneshi, then head of the Naha branch of the Social-Mass party, while the central leadership of that party nominated its chairman, Mr. Taira, to run for office. As a result of this split in the party, Mr. Kaneshi and members of the Naha branch seceded from the Social-Mass party forming the Okinawa Socialists—he calls it the Okinawa Socialist *Democratic* party in his letter. Thus the Social-Mass party left Minren and in its place stood the new Kaneshi Socialists together with Senaga's Peoples party. There was no room to put up a candidate of the pro-American Democratic party. The mayoralty election was a hard fight in which Mr. Kaneshi backed by Minren defeated Mr. Taira. Minren was approaching the peak of its power and rose steadily until the Legislative elections in which it elected only five members (Social-Mass nine, Democratic seven, Minren five, Independent eight).

Immediately after the Legislative elections a strike broke out among the 300 female workers of the *Okinawa-Seni* (Okinawa Textile Co.). They were attempting to raise their pitiful salary, 2.50 yen-4.50 yen per hour or only \$2-\$4 per month. Their just claims and desire to better inhuman working conditions evoked sympathy in all circles. Three parties, Social-Mass, Socialist and Peoples party, supported their strike although they differed on settlement terms. The last insisted on demanding 12.00 yen per hour while the first two parties wanted to settle for 8.50 yen per hour. Thus the second crisis occurred in Minren. Fortunately, a split was avoided because the strike was settled after 20 days.

The third and most serious crisis developed when Mayor Kaneshi introduced a bill into the Naha City assembly raising the salaries of city assemblymen from 6,000 to 9,000 yen monthly. The Peoples party attacked Mayor Kaneshi, accusing him of indulging the opposition while Naha was in a financial crisis. Curiously enough Kaneshi's own Socialists officially opposed the bill. On 13th July the Peoples party held a rally protesting Kaneshi's municipal policy. Mr. Senaga accused Mr. Kaneshi of moving into Thoma's (Thoma is the American-appointed chief executive of the G.R.I.) camp. Now Minren is facing a split.

Character of Minren

Mayor Kaneshi writes that Minren is really not a political party but was a front formed to unite the democratic struggle against the American administration. Minren is actually little less than a political party and quite different from a mere supporters' association. It campaigned on its own platform not that of its component parties. The chief planks of the program are as follows:

1. Absolute opposition to turning Okinawa into a base for atomic and hydrogen bombs.
2. *Prompt* reversion of Okinawa to Japan.
3. A four-point land program including opposition to lump-sum payments.

4. Opposition to all preferential American military policies on Okinawa.

Except for nuances, e.g., the emphasis on *prompt* reversion, these demands are almost indistinguishable from the fundamental policies of the Social-Mass party. In fact, some of the demands are even close to the stated policies of the pro-American Democratic party. The most distinctive programmatic difference of the Democratic party is the allowance of United States military bases on Okinawa. Minren is unique in its militant and uncompromising attempt to carry through its stated aims.

Political Convictions and Administrative Policies

During the policy debates in the Naha City Assembly, Mayor Kaneshi was asked if severance of his connections with the pro-communist Peoples party would not be the best way to release the special aid funds and also be eligible for loans. He replied that he had nothing to do with communism and would like to do his best to promote the welfare of Naha citizens within a *capitalist* framework (*Ryukyu Shimpō*, 27th March, 1958). Why does Kaneshi not acknowledge himself as a staunch socialist? In his article he deliberately calls his own party, titled the Okinawa Socialist party and deemed by its followers a branch of the Japan Socialists, the *Socialist-Democratic* (social-democratic?) party. In his article Kaneshi laughs at "socialist" Taira who was once his comrade and party leader and is now backed by all the conservative parties. How about himself? It is curious and sophistical in the extreme that a leader of a Socialist party should state his policy from a "capitalist" standpoint. Raising the salaries of assemblymen in the face of the almost universal opposition of the citizens of Naha, displays his inconsistency. He thus leaves himself open to the accusation of being a rather crafty opportunist.

Trials of being Mayor

Whether Kaneshi is a socialist with backbone or a mere opportunist, we must acknowledge that two unjust burdens were imposed upon him by the Americans. Funds appropriated for reconstruction were frozen, making it impossible for him to carry out his duty. He was also charged with violation of the election law, potentially depriving him of the mayorship. This will be detailed later.

All the important reconstruction projects in Naha require funds greater than the city's financial resources. If Mayor Kaneshi fails to obtain funds he is doomed to be ousted as former Mayor Senaga was on this very issue. Projects such as expansion and paving of roads, building new bridges, reclamation work on the river and coast, construction of a garbage incinerator and a sports center must be subsidized by loans from either the Americans or the motherland, Japan. Loans from the Ryukyu Bank, are American-controlled since, as William S. Armstrong has written, "all loans over two or three million yen require approval of the United States authorities".¹ It should also be pointed out that all special subsidies are given to

municipalities *directly* by U.S.C.A.R. not through the G.R.I. This crafty and subtle administration typifies the method of bureaucratic manipulation used by a capitalist state in a colonial area. Is this so-called American democracy? Do United States authorities and their flatterers consider loans and subsidies, so necessary for the welfare of the people, a favor of the rulers?

On the day before polling took place to elect a mayor, United States authorities made the President of the Ryukyu Bank publish a statement to the effect that the frozen reconstruction funds would be released if Mr. Taira should win. Can this barefaced move be called fair play? Despite it, the inhabitants of Naha responded in favor of Mr. Kaneshi. Immediately after the elections this detestable flatterer, the president of the bank, shamelessly said: "I deeply regret seeing so many voters who chose resistance for the sake of resistance and sacrificed the reconstruction projects that would improve their lives and promote their welfare. So we must continue to walk on bad dirt roads. . . . Kaneshi does not solicit a loan from the Americans because apparently he and Senaga have decided that municipal projects should only be based on self-resources and loans from Japan. . . . If Kaneshi does not stop resisting the powers-that-be, the so-called plutocrats, and solicit funds from every circle, execution of a municipal policy will be very difficult . . ." (*Ryukyu Shimpō*, 15th January, 1958). He is, of course, a puppet of U.S.C.A.R., an ass in a lion's skin, who should be ostracized by the public.

Traps were laid in order to loosen Kaneshi's footing and deprive him of the mayorship. The Ryukyu circuit public prosecutor's office indicted him on a charge of using his official car as mayor while making an election speech on 16th March during the Legislative elections. Article 145 of the Election Law of G.R.I. provides that during an election campaign no candidate or his supporters shall use any property, articles, materials or funds which are the property of government offices except in accordance with provisions of this law. If any person violates this article he shall be sentenced to up to three years' hard labor or fined not more than 30,000 yen. On 3rd May, Mr. Kaneshi wrote to Mr. Unno, director of the Japan Civil Liberties Union, setting forth the facts of the case and asking clarification on certain legal points. On 26th May Mr. Unno replied that he was astonished that he was indicted on such a trifling and concerned about the naked political intimidation involved. According to the J.C.L.U. the core of the problem is whether the car is provided for the mayor's general use or only to carry him on official business. They further observed that the purpose of Article 145 is to prohibit the use of a government office as an *election campaign office* or the use of official paper as election posters, etc. It is the J.C.L.U. opinion that the article is violated only if there is a *direct* relation between the government property and the election campaign. Furthermore,

1. See "Okinawa: American Colony" by William S. Armstrong. *Contemporary Issues* No. 32, Jan.-Feb., 1957.

Mr. Kaneshi claims that he went to the election meeting in his car only after having travelled to his deceased wife's home to burn incense there. In Japan such legalistics are considered beside the point. Does not the President of the United States fly on a fact-finding mission in a government plane? Does he not go to the golf links in an official car?

It is difficult to arrive at the whole truth with mere facts in the swift currents of thought that swirl among us. Of paramount importance is background and analysis of the facts. In providing a measure of these I hope that further understanding of Mayor Kaneshi's report will be facilitated.

Alan Dutscher

THE LIMITS OF PSYCHOANALYSIS

An Answer to Clarkson and Pye

It is the purpose of this essay to examine two articles concerning psychoanalysis which appeared in *Contemporary Issues*, No. 34. The articles were: "The Function of Anti-Sex", by John Clarkson and "Psychology and Society", by E. I. Pye. The guide lines of our critique will be indicated by a series of passages by various authors, passages concerned with the so-called sexual question:

... Christianity has succeeded in turning Eros and Aphrodite—great powers, capable of idealization—into hellish goblins . . . In themselves the sexual feelings, like those of pity and adoration, are such that one human being thereby gives pleasure to another human being through his delight; one does not encounter such beneficent arrangements too frequently in nature. And to slander just such a one and to corrupt it through bad conscience! . . .

In the end this transformation of Eros into a devil wound up as a comedy: gradually the "devil" Eros became more interesting to men than all the angels and saints, thanks to the whispering and secret-mongering of the Church in all erotic matters: this has had the effect, right into our own time, of making the *love story* the only real interest shared by all circles in an exaggeration which would have been incomprehensible in antiquity and which will yet be laughed at some day . . . (latter emphasis mine).

The reader's attention is particularly directed to the second paragraph in the above by Nietzsche (the only suggested change would be the substitution of the word "sex" for the words "love story"). Now to the second quotation which is, unfortunately, rather lengthy:

... It is extremely easy in the modern West to sexify everything, in a way that would have been impossible in the Greek world, for instance. To see this, you only have to consider the fact that the Athens of Socrates was notorious, as his dialogues witness, for what is (for us) the most obsessing sort of sex-cult. Yet it did not interfere at all with

Greek philosophy; life did not become the rival of thought, the life of the intellect and that of the senses co-existed harmoniously; and philosophic speculation, for the men who disputed with Socrates, was evidently as exciting as any of their other occupations. The dialogues of Plato have not an alexandrian effluvia of feminine scent; nor do they erect pointers on all the pathways of the mind, waving frantically back to the gonadal ecstasies of the commencement of life. They are as loftily detached from the particular delights in fashion with the Athenian as it is possible to be; the core of the mind was not invaded, or even troubled, by the claims of that group of glands, in spite of the fact that the puppets who used to conduct the intellectual contests were often conventionally epicene. The psychological composition of the mind of such a philosopher as Socrates, or Democritus, showed no bias whatever such as you inevitably find in a Wilde or a Pater—that alexandrian enervation and softening of all the male chastity of thought.

In modern Western democracy thought usually . . . has to get started in a sex-centre. People are saturated with moral teaching and the artificialities of the legal and moralist mind to such a degree, that it is most difficult to make them think without first shocking them; or without, contrariwise, edifying them. Edification or outrage must precede thought; there is no escape generally from that law—the law of sensation, of extremism and of snobbery . . . In the Pagan world the facts of sex had no undue importance. That they have derived entirely from the puritan consciousness. The whole bag of tricks of sex, simple and invert, reduces itself, on the physical side, to a very simple proposition . . . But in the power of "sex" as a lever in the modern European world (to which the success of Freud is witness) you are dealing with something quite different from that. It is necessary, if you are to understand it, to put out of your head all analogies with antiquity, or with other periods. What you are confronted with, always, is *forbidden fruit*; that is what "sex" has most persistently meant to the post-Reformation European. The delights of sex have been built round for us with menacing restrictions: and a situation has been created which a Greek or a Roman would with great difficulty have understood . . .

The levity and even lack of interest with which the Greeks usually treated these things is so much more healthy, it is quite evident, that it is a pity from any point of view that it should not be expected of a "broad-minded" and "modernist" person as a *sine qua non* of modernity. If you believe that such things as . . . propaganda of "original" vice are socially undesirable, then all the more should you seek to apply to them the chill of this moral indifferentism. For they would certainly wither at the touch of it . . . So it is not sex, properly speaking and in its simple and natural appeal, that is in question at all; it is the diabolics locked up in the edifice of "morals" that is the arch-enemy . . . To circumvent that ridiculous but formidable spirit is a necessary but difficult enterprise . . .

Where any sex-nuisance is concerned, the Greek indifference is the best specific. For with regard to anything which is likely to obsess a society, it is of importance not to give it too much advertisement. (Wyndham Lewis: *Time and Western Man*.)

This will be the tenor of our reply to Clarkson. For, in point of fact, he has succumbed to the exaggerated ideology of sex. Now if we may proceed on our tedious way with one last (for the time being, anyway) quotation:

Our own culture includes a blanket taboo against fornication, an over-all prohibition of all sexual intercourse outside of the marital relationship. To a member of our society, consequently, sex itself seems

the obvious focus of sex regulation. Not only the man in the street but most of our serious scholars unconsciously assume that sex regulation in other societies must have the same basis, and the literature on the subject is largely written from this point of view. Actually, the assumption is demonstrably false. To the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the world, the point of departure for the regulation of sex is not sexual intercourse *per se* but one or more other social phenomena with respect to which sex is important, notably marriage, kinship, social status, reproduction, and ceremonial. Instead of a generalized sex taboo, what the ethnographer and the historian usually encounter is a series of sex restrictions, permissions and obligations in relation to these other phenomena. The evidence from our worldwide sample of 250 societies which bears upon the prevalence of a generalized taboo against all sex relations outside of marriage is . . . (only three societies in all include such a taboo). (G. P. Murdock. *Social Structure*.)

In a word, in our culture sex obsession or sexual determinism, if you will, is almost "natural". Clarkson more or less echoes the Freudian exaggeration that civilization and all its products are one vast sublimation; that any activity other than sex or that is not a means to sex represents (1) a deprivation of sex (2) a conversion of sexual energy into other channels. Thus Clarkson's mechanism for the rise of civilization is: restriction on sexuality—leading to guilt feelings—leading to greater restrictions—leading to culture. For him sexual restriction was the *sine qua non* of human progress. The case is, however, rather the reverse: the external, compulsive restrictions of the sexual appetite invariably were (and are) an element in human enslavement, in civilizational decline—because they are themselves degradations. Sexual restrictions were not a *sine qua non* of anything. Culture might have developed, in a far more harmonious and much less painful way, without such restrictions. Clarkson is, of course, assuming that the only way civilization could have developed is the way it actually did develop—including all stupidities, blindnesses and brutalities—a point of view rather patently absurd. One must separate the *necessary* elements in any organic development from the inessential by-products. Applying Clarkson's reasoning to the human organism it is as though one were to say that the contraction of childhood diseases is necessary to the development of the human being.

Cultural development is a response to human need. And the need for mastery of the conditions of material scarcity would have been with men whether or not there were restrictions on sex. As Clarkson himself writes: "The original tyrant is the empty belly. The compulsion to fill it has forced the development of human life through the ages, and has finally brought the race to where it stands to-day on the verge of abundance and freedom." Obviously, with or without free sexuality the "original tyrant" would have forced the issue.

The core error is Clarkson's concept of libido, a concept that Freud himself once characterized as follows: "All that has been gained thus far from psychoanalytic observation would be lost if, following C. G. Jung, one would subtilize the very concept of libido to the extent of making it synonymous with psychic instinctive energy in general. The separation of the sexual instinctive excitements from the others and

with the restriction of the concept libido to the former, finds strong support in the assumption of a special chemism of the sexual function . . ." (*The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud*, ed. by A. A. Brill, Modern Lib., page 612). This rather careful delimitation of libido, this non-exaggerated notion of the entire matter unfortunately has a tendency to get lost in the general literature of psychoanalysis—not least, as we shall see, in the writings of Freud himself. First let us note that in Brill's introduction to this book there appears the following passage: "In psychoanalysis libido signifies that quantitatively changeable and not at present measurable energy of the sexual instinct which is usually directed to an outside object (!). It comprises all (!) those impulses which deal with love in the broad (!) sense. Its main component is sexual love; and sexual union is its aim; but it also includes self-love (!), love for parents and children (!!), friendship (!!!), attachment to concrete objects (!!!!), and even devotion to abstract ideas (!!!!!). (*Ibid.*, page 16.)

What has now become of Freud's delimitation? Of course, objects can, as with fetishes, become sexually significant. But to postulate that attachment (in general) to objects (in general) is a manifestation identical with sexual attachment is to rob sex of *its* identity. A similar objection may be raised to Brill's other inclusions in the notion "libido". Is this perhaps a matter of Brill's particular sloppiness or of an insidious Jungianism? Unfortunately not. For the exaggeration is propagated by no less a Freudian than Freud himself. He writes: ". . . I want to state the conclusion that the beginnings of religion, ethics, society, and art meet in the oedipus complex." (*Ibid.*, page 927.) Since the so-called oedipus complex is only a special, or perhaps *the* special manifestation of libidinal energy we find the circle has been closed as follows: The sex instinct has been transformed from what it is to what it "ain't"—from an instinct whose goal is sexual union to the *fons et origo* of every aspect of human life and culture. Freud's sexual energy becomes Jung's energy in general and since there are no longer any bounds to the concept it is dissolved, or to use Freud's word "lost".

For the orthodox Freudian all activity other than sex is sublimation because the sexual appetite is assumed to be the only appetite worth mentioning, or of boundless proportions, or the ground source of all other appetites, or the ground source of pleasure. The theory's misfortune is its major premise: for there are obviously other needs beside sex and just as there are limits to every other human need there are limits to sexual hunger as well. Not to mention that there are other sources of pleasure and that any sensation or activity, to belabor the evident, has limits beyond which it becomes painful or monotonous.

Let us return once more to Clarkson's dictum that ". . . restriction upon the sexual appetite was an invariable element in the rise of civilization, that is to say in the gradual progress of human mastery of the material conditions of life". In conjunction with this statement the quotation from Murdock should be carefully re-read, viz., that it was not sex itself which was the object of sex regulation

in most cultures, but other social phenomena which were regulated by means of specific sexual taboos. In a word, just as the restrictions placed upon sexuality have differed from society to society so the reasons for the restrictions have differed. The different restrictions are in fact only explicable from the nature of the different social set-ups. If, on the other hand, one assumes with Clarkson that the reason for sex regulation has always been one and the same, namely, to curb the sex appetite in the conscious or unconscious interests of "progress", one is unable to account for the bewildering variety of sexual taboos from culture to culture (one would expect a rather uniform blanket taboo upon intercourse outside the marriage relation, as well as within it, and as Murdock says the former hardly ever occurs); nor would one be able to account for the degree of promiscuity permitted in many cultures. For in some primitive cultures fornication between all and all, except brother and sister (the most general but not the invariable taboo) is quite common. Clarkson would, of course, point to the taboo mentioned as confirmation of his viewpoint. However, anyone else would point to the extent of promiscuity in the majority of cultures and rightly say: My God, even if incest were an invariable curb of culture upon the sex appetite, which it is not, one could hardly conclude that there was much restriction of sex in the interest of "progress"—what with promiscuity, polygamy, polyandry, etc., permitted in so many cultures.* Clarkson's "theory"

*Some time after this answer was completed, the author was fortunate enough to stumble upon a logical, though neglected, theory of incest which indicates the reason for this most nearly universal and (to judge by the bulk of anthropological literature) most mystifying of sex regulations. In *The Science of Culture*, Leslie A. White writes:

"The science of culture has . . . long ago given us an adequate explanation of incest prohibitions. We find it set forth simply and succinctly in an essay by E. B. Tylor published in 1888 . . ."

White's explication is, in part, as follows:

"[Primitive] man . . . is engaged in a struggle for existence. Co-operation, mutual aid, may become valuable means of carrying on this struggle at many points . . . But a regime of co-operation confined to the members of a family would be correspondingly limited in its benefits. If co-operation is advantageous *within* family groups, why not *between* families . . .? The problem was now to extend the scope of mutual aid . . . Co-operation between families cannot be established if parent marries child; and brother, sister. A way must be found to overcome this centripetal tendency with a centrifugal force. This way was found in the definition and prohibition of incest . . ."

Concerning this explanation, White makes a very interesting and relevant remark. He writes:

"If an understanding of incest and exogamy is as old in social philosophy as Saint Augustine and as early in anthropological science as Tylor, why is it that the subject is still so obscure and so little understood among scholars today? We have already suggested the answer: a preference for psychological rather than culturological explanations. Anthropomorphism is an inveterate habit in human thought. To explain institutions in terms of psychology—of wish, desire, aversion, imagination, fear, etc.—has long been popular. Explanations of human behavior in terms of psychological determinants preceded therefore explanations in terms of cultural determinants. But culturological problems cannot be solved by psychology. Preoccupation

would use all evidence of restriction as proof, but disregard all evidence to the contrary. Moreover, the mere fact that an adult or child (primitives often actively encourage a child's sex play) is restricted to having intercourse "only" with those members of the opposite sex who do not belong to his or her kinship group, hardly constitutes proof of restriction upon the quantity of total intercourse possible to that person, though it is an indication of restriction upon the quantity of other persons with whom one may have intercourse.

To assign the same weight and significance to restriction in all cultures is quite unscientific. *Understood as deprivation or degradation of man* sex restriction has, in many cultures, no significance at all. Certainly the inability to satisfy a whim is not the same as deprivation. The fact that the primitive could not fornicate with his sister, if he had a passing fancy to do so, can hardly be called *deprivation*—if he could at the same time fornicate with any of a number of other women. There will never be a society from which such "deprivation" (of passing fancies, that is) is excluded. The notion that one "suffers" from lack of gratification of such whims is simply ridiculous, better, it is a perfect reflection of the current bourgeois fad of unlimited personal consumption. Freedom does *not* consist in getting whatever we want, whenever we want it. That, in fact, is enslavement—to every irrational fancy.

Clarkson's notions concerning guilt are also at fault. He writes: "The recognition of the social function of guilt anxiety in enforcing submission is an insight acquired from Freud." And somewhat later: "... in popular thinking—which in this case, as in others, hits the

with psychological explanations has not only kept many scholars from finding the answer; it has prevented them from recognizing the solution when it has been reached by the science of culture."

If this devastating indictment of the role of psychology in social science is not enough, we may further quote from the author's preface:

"The great English anthropologist, E. B. Tylor, seems to have been the first clearly to grasp this new conception [of cultural determinism]. In the first chapter of his great work, *Primitive Culture* (1871), he formulated in succinct fashion the culturological point of view and outlined the scope of the science of culture. Tylor was followed by Durkheim, Kroeber, Lowie, Wissler, and many others in the development of this new science. But progress has not been steady and continuous. Of late there has been a falling away from the culturological point of view and objectives. Instead of interpretation of culture as such, many American anthropologists in recent years have turned to the overt reactions of the human organism and to the deep subconscious forces that underlie these reactions . . . We have witnessed a definite regression in anthropology in America in recent years. But it will not last. Sooner or later the advance in science begun with Tylor will be resumed. As Kroeber has indicated in a recent article, fashions and fads come and go in science, but underneath the currents and eddies on the surface is the deep strong flow of scientific progress. 'Personality,' says Kroeber, 'is the slogan of the moment . . . Devices like "ink-blot tests" have some of the outward qualities of a gadget . . . [and] as a nation we love gadgets . . . In a decade or two Rohrschachs may have been replaced as stimuli of fashion response by their successor of the day.'"

truth closer than some sophisticated rationalizations—sin is identified, if not equated, with sex.” Still later: “ . . . sex guilt supports an economy of scarcity.” In connection with these statements let us consider the following by Nietzsche:

. . . one must understand this: every natural custom, every natural institution . . . every demand inspired by the instinct of life—in short, everything that contains its value *in itself* is made altogether valueless, *anti*-valuable by the parasitism of the priest (or the “moral world order”): now it requires a sanction after the event—a *value-conferring* power is needed to negate what is natural in it and to *create* a value by so doing. The priest devalues, *desecrates* nature: this is the price of his existence. Disobedience of God, that is, of the priest, of “the Law”, is now called “sin”; the means for “reconciliation with God” are as is meet, means that merely guarantee still more thorough submission to the priest; the priest alone “redeems”.

Psychologically considered, “sins” become indispensable in any society organized by priests: they are the real handles of power. The priest *lives* on sins, it is essential for him that people “sin”. Supreme principle, “God forgives those who repent”—in plain language: those who submit to the priest.

If the foregoing is not plain enough, we may consider another passage from *The Antichrist*:

The beginning of the Bible contains the *whole* psychology of the priest at all times. Away with physicians! *A Savior is needed*. The sound conception of cause and effect. But on the whole science prospers only under happy circumstances—there must be a *surplus* of time, of spirit, to make “knowledge” possible. “Consequently, man must be made unhappy”—this was the logic of the priest in every age.

It will now be clear what was introduced into the world for the first time, in accordance with this logic: “sin”. The concept of guilt and punishment, the whole “moral world order”, was invented *against* science, *against* the emancipation of man from the priest. Man *shall not* look outside, he shall look into himself; he *shall not* look into things cleverly and cautiously, like a learner, he *shall not* look at all—he *shall suffer*. And he shall suffer in such a way that he has need of the priest at all times. Away with physicians! *A Savior is needed*. The concept of guilt and punishment, including the doctrine of “grace”, of “redemption”, of “forgiveness”—*lies* through and through, and without any psychological reality—were invented to destroy *causal sense*: they are an attempt to assassinate with the fist, with the knife, with honesty in hatred and love! But born of the most cowardly, most cunning, lowest instincts. A *priestly* attempt! A *parasite's* attempt! A vampirism of pale, subterranean bloodsuckers!

When the natural consequences of a deed are no longer “natural”, but thought of as caused by the conceptual specters of superstition, by “God”, by “spirits”, by “souls”, as if they were merely “moral” consequences, as reward, punishment, hint, means of education, then the presupposition of knowledge has been destroyed—*then the greatest crime against humanity has been committed*. Sin, to repeat it once more, this form of man's self-violation *par excellence*, was invented to make science, culture, every elevation and nobility of man, impossible; the priest rules through the invention of sin.

To sum up on the question of guilt: (1) The above passages show that the “social function of guilt” was understood *before Freud*—and in a far richer way than he was ever able to comprehend this concept.

(2) Despite its "social function", it is a mistake to suppose, as Clarkson seems to suppose, that guilt was *necessary* to support an economy of scarcity. The classical world, for example, suffered no such pervasive intellectual obstacle. Instead of guilt the notion of fate (reflecting objective limitation rather than subjective fault) was decisive. (3) As Nietzsche writes, "*every demand inspired by the instinct of life*" is loaded with sin or guilt in most of the Christian world—not just the sexual demand. Freud's "contribution" on the subject of sin in fact narrowed and distorted the true picture. (4) If one is to read the above quotations from the point of view of scientific sociology and in terms of the present context, one should substitute for the words "Christianity" and "Priests" the words "capitalism" and "ideologists of capitalism" (among which are priests). The system and its apologists are the latter-day source of the notion of guilt.

There are other items in Clarkson's piece which are rather disturbing: Thus he attacks Fromm for suggesting that improved sexual techniques do not necessarily make for happy marriages. But Fromm, after all, is right, though his reasons may be wrong. Fromm, in his own peculiarly half-baked way, is only saying that the current balm, technique manuals, alone will not make a basically bad institution basically good. With or without sexual expertise the institution of compulsive marriage is bad, because it is still largely compulsive. Clarkson is also critical of Fromm for the latter's qualified and cautious evaluation of Kinsey. Clarkson writes: "Dr. Fromm is critical of the preoccupation of contemporary social science with the opinion poll, confined in its subject matter 'to what people *think* (or believe they are supposed to think) instead of studying the emotional forces behind their thinking'." Clarkson's comment on this is quite beside the point. The point is: the adroit fashion in which Fromm criticizes contemporary sociology for over-concern with opinion-seeking (a phenomenon deserving criticism) and proposes if anything an even less promising informational technique, namely, "studying the emotional forces behind people's thinking". Emotional forces, after all, are invariants and tell us no more about historically conditioned opinions than information on the hormones tells us of the differences in the sex behavior of the Todas and the Puritans. What Fromm should have said was: one does not explain the social system in terms of men's opinions of it, but rather men's opinions by the nature of the social system.

The *limited* value of Kinsey's work, then, derives from this: It is a report essentially of what is done, what is said about what is done, or what is thought about what is done in the area of sex behavior—a report which does not clearly indicate the motor force of practice or opinion. Causation, where most thorough, is in terms of biological invariants. But the application of biology sometimes appears as rather problematic. For example, the greater jealousy of the male concerning his mate's extra-curricular *amours* is traced by Kinsey to "similar" propensities in other mammalian species. Yet for every species that

exhibits such jealousy there are probably ten that are indifferent. The social explanation that in an alienated, highly competitive society in which a man literally "doesn't have a friend in the world", such infidelity "threatens" his only human relationship, is far more likely. (For the woman, who has a relatively meaningful and satisfactory relationship in and with her children, infidelity *may be* relatively less important.) Kinsey does attempt to indicate social reasons for the differences in sex behavior between the generations, nevertheless, even here the reasoning tends to be somewhat puerile. Contraception, emancipation of women, war, etc., *have* indeed led to a loosening of morality. What one misses is the historical explanation that the breakdown of the social order has always led to such "looseness", irrespective of technical improvements in contraception or of such juridical innovations as female emancipation. Moreover the relative weights of these seemingly unrelated causes are not assigned, nor is their actual interdependence indicated.

We bring this up in order to indicate, among other things, that one can get a bit carried away with the *revolutionary* importance of the presumably greater license of modern times. Thus in an unpublished letter to this writer and other friends, Clarkson wrote: "It must be held in mind that in the course of evolution, of which the development of human culture is the highest (and continuing) stage, human nature, including its erotic components, has changed greatly, and is now consciously changing itself, and ever in the direction of increased freedom." In the "Anti-Sex" article itself, we read: "The recrudescence of sex and sex right is in part (an) adumbration of an emergent era of material abundance in which restrictions upon free expression of natural sexuality will have no economic utility nor social reason of any sort." And in another place: "The much publicized and deplored 'breakdown' in sexual morality, far from being a manifestation of decay and decadence is actually in large extent and in general direction a progressive development." Unfortunately in the same article, in another place, Clarkson hit hard at Fromm for stating the same sort of nonsense. There Clarkson wrote concerning the so-called sexual revolution: "It is true that old inhibitions and principles were thrown overboard to some extent. But this negative development does not constitute a true 'sexual revolution' in any (!) positive sense. It marks no advent into sexual freedom . . ." Wyndham Lewis wrote of the revolutionary activity of the modern bedroom: ". . . every license where 'sex' is concerned has been invested with the halo of an awful and thrilling lawlessness. If it were not for the superlative sweetness of lawlessness of a sex order, all lawlessness would lack its most exciting and hypnotic paradigm and principal advertisement. How this applies to-day is evident. If you are desirous of showing your 'revolutionary' propensities, and it is a case of finding some law to break to prove your goodwill and spirit, what better law than the dear old moral law, always there invitingly ready and eager to be broken? So it is that 'sex' for the European is the ideal gateway to Revolution, that no one but a violent sex snob

can enter any more than a camel can go through the eye of a needle." The significance of to-day's "moral breakdown" is as a symptom of social decay and whatever joys it may or may not bring to the individuals concerned in the "immorality" it has about as much positive revolutionary significance as the law-breaking of criminals.

But wait—perhaps the latter too has such significance! Has not Clarkson written: "The shame and tragedy of so-called (!) 'juvenile delinquency' is the manner in which our best (!) and most vital (!) youths are the juvenile delinquents, then the best and most vital adults irrational and inhuman requirements of a moribund culture (such as laws against rape, doubtless—A.D.)." If our best and most vital youths are the juvenile delinquents, then the best and most vital adults presumably are jail-birds, ne'er-do-wells, tramps, beggars, parasites, gamblers and bookies who also do not "tamely submit to irrational and inhuman requirements of a moribund culture"—such as working for a living. Clarkson's enthusiasm for parasitism, irresponsibility, and pointless violence ("revolutionism") which themselves are the truest reflections of the modern capitalist spirit (as the limited but incomparably higher Protestant ethic of sobriety and industry was of the old epoch) carries him to just such absurdities.

We turn our attention next to *Psychology and Society*, by E. I. Pye. Pye's critique of Clarkson contains a number of statements which require discussion. For example, Pye accepts as proven Freud's contention that ". . . hysterical symptoms (and for that matter all other neurotic symptoms) had their origin in sexual disturbances." This certainty reminded us of the statement of the great American psychiatrist Abraham Myerson (in his autobiography, *Speaking of Man*): "Every day people come into my office to tell me exactly why their relatives (or they themselves) become sick, what complexes they have, the havoc their mothers created in them, and so on, and are scandalized when I tell them that no one as yet knows 'causes' in the illness of the patient." Obviously, Myerson was no Freudian, hence he was capable of some tough-minded scepticism about the general state of his own relatively undeveloped specialty. Taking Pye's statement on its own merits, one thinks: If *all* human relations are distorted under capitalism can one trace all individual distortions to *one* relation? What of work relations, for example? Is job insecurity, monotony, triviality, noise, etc., of no significance? Also, what of war, famine, poor quality nutrition as *possible* factors, *at least*. Why only sex? To say that that was the only cause Freud found, is to confess that that was the only cause Freud was looking for.

Following some discussion of the so-called Oedipus complex, generally characterized by him as the great villain in all our personal lives, Pye states that the oedipal theory has the "most radical social conclusions", adumbrated as follows: "If bourgeois conditions produce the bourgeois family, and if the bourgeois family regularly produces the crippling emotional effects found by Freud, then a rational human life can only be had by eliminating bourgeois conditions." These conclusions are about as radical as they are

logical. For, as any bourgeois could retort: Obviously, the bourgeois family does not *regularly* produce *crippling* emotional effects at all. (Incidentally, to speak of neuroses, which were what Freud "found", as "crippling" is rather slipshod language for a "scientific" syllogism.) In fact, it is the very differences in the results of the bourgeois family upbringing that calls the whole question of the sexual etiology of neurosis into question. For, according to Freud and Pye, the oedipal situation is a constant in the bourgeois family, which means that sexual disturbance should be an individual constant—which it is not. This can only be because factors other than Oedipus enter into the matter. Even if one only says that the normal person's later sex life is fairly satisfactory and that *that* saves him from neurosis one is admitting that the Oedipus complex (or the child's familial environment) is not decisive for his *entire* psychic life—an assumption, incidentally, in accordance with common sense. One might add that if the Oedipus complex is endemic to patriarchal society, as Pye says, then it must be admitted that it has produced rather mixed social results historically, including some which are brilliant.

Actually, the entire oedipal constellation is an *article of faith*, quite typical of Freud, whose method was described by Myerson (*Ibid.*) as follows:

While symbol and metaphor are the very essence of poetry, they are quite out of place in any science except mathematics. Yet we find that symbol and metaphor are the very essence of psychoanalysis.

No proof beyond resemblance being necessary, all one has to do is, first, to be quick in discovering resemblances to sex in whatever is said or thought; and this is easy since everything is somewhat straight or somewhat oval. Second, to explain a thing by an assumed formula; for example, a boy loves his mother, therefore he hates his father, is his rival for the mother, and so has an oedipus complex. Third, to believe that frustration and inhibition are bad, create complexes that are stored in the unconscious, and emerge any number of years later to produce *lasting* disturbances—that is, mental illness. In reality, frustration and inhibition are natural, necessary phenomena and, in normal degree, condition growth, just as pruning plants does. Fourth, to translate resemblance into identity, such as the immortal Freud himself did on many occasions. A celebrated example is his conclusion that nursing is a sexual act, for does not the flushed and sleepy child, having finished nursing, *resemble* the flushed and sleepy lover, post-coitus? Sensuality is not sexuality, although sexuality is a form of sensuality.

Conjure up a few anthropomorphic entities, which are the lesser and greater gods in the pantheon of psychoanalysis—superego, ego, id, censor, big and little complexes—and you can analyze the quick and the dead with or without seeing them; you can reach the most weighty conclusions about nations, constitutions, heroes, saints and sinners with or without evidence. Witness the glib way Freud analyzed Moses and Leonardo Da Vinci and thus unwittingly proved that a personal psychoanalysis is superfluous.

Somewhere else Myerson writes of psychoanalysis: "(It) will not be disproved but (it) will become obsolete. So Lecky pointed out that just exactly this process of obsolescence overtook witchcraft."

Dealing with another matter, Pye writes: "Lunen proposes a 'social' psychology, for which 'the whole skeleton and all the basic

'material' is to be found in the work of Marx." Later, on the same page, Pye brightly remarks: "... we see that Lunen's version of what he calls Marx's psychology amounts to a proposal to jettison psychology as a serious scientific discipline . . ." For God's sake! Lunen was talking of *social* psychology, not of psychology as such. After all, what would Marxism have to put in the place of say comparative or physiological psychology? A little further on, still commenting on Lunen's words, Pye writes: "It is, however, true that including false consciousness among psychological phenomena seems pointless (if a problem of consciousness is not a psychological problem, then what is?—A.D.) unless one believes that it can be explained using the techniques which help in elucidating individual psychological behavior (the demand that a theory which explains the general state of consciousness itself be explicable by techniques which elucidate individual psychological behavior, e.g., free association, is simply senseless—A.D.) . . . Pye continues: "But this is precisely the error which Lunen found in Fromm (we shall see what the real error is in a moment—when Pye commits it—A.D.) . . . For the most part . . . (psychological) questions have to do not with the behavior of people in masses but as individuals, not with the major social forces acting on everyone but with the psychological forces (?) which determine how individuals develop within the superimposed (?) social framework."

What are the "psychological forces" which Pye differentiates from social forces? There are only social or natural forces, and psychology has to do with the *reflection of these forces in consciousness*. "The error which Lunen found in Fromm" is, in fact, Pye's own redundant notion of independent "psychological forces"; the notion that psychology is anything more than the reflection of social and natural forces on consciousness. Also, to speak of a "superimposed" social framework makes no sense whatever because the individual never exists except in a social framework.

To conclude with the moral: Both Clarkson and Pye have more (Clarkson) or less (Pye) been taken in by "forbidden fruit". That there is a sex problem in modern society is a truism. But it is wrong to say, as Pye does, that the oedipal attraction constitutes the basis of that problem, or to conclude with Clarkson that because sex is a problem in modern society, it has always and everywhere necessarily been a problem. As regards Clarkson's thesis, we return in the end to our beginning: It is "... an exaggeration . . . which will yet be laughed at some day."

Paul Ecker

SEX AS A PROBLEM

Back in the madhouse of the German Communist Party of the 1920's, Wilhelm Reich, then first winning his spurs as a promising psychoanalytic "theoretician", propounded his politico-psychological thesis that sexual liberation of the working class was the precondition to its social emancipation. Freedom from bedroom inhibitions, Reich maintained, was the necessary preliminary to development of the revolutionary spirit capable of overthrowing bourgeois social relationships and transforming society. Thus, methodologically speaking, did Reich place himself in that crowded pew of theologians, psychologists and pedagogues whose common cry to movements for social change has ever been, "Physician, heal thyself!" And if Reich had at least the merit of suggesting that social norms and institutions might be radically revised to meet human needs at a time when the "old master" of psychoanalysis was decreeing just the opposite, subsequent events made it quite clear where his attention was indeed focussed. The German working class failed to liberate itself either socially or phallically, and Reich went on to the orgone box and better things.

But it is precisely the germ of truth in Reich's proposition that is responsible for its ludicrous character, much like that of the teamster whipping on his cart to draw the horse. If Reich reverses the order in comic-opera fashion, it is nonetheless true that social and sexual—or more fundamentally, *human*—freedom are indissolubly interrelated. The barriers against individual fulfillment are insurmountable for all but a minute few under the restrictions and ideology of a commodity society.

The commodity conditioning of sexual relationships is apparent from their very beginning. The age at which sexual desire matures is early adolescence (the great lovers of bygone history were all in their teens), but the age a man must reach before he can afford to buy (support) a mate is at least ten years greater. Bourgeois society resolves the conflict, as it does all similar ones, in favor of the "social" rather than the biological need. Thus, at the start, it sets the stage for that hypocrisy that cloaks the gap between need and "approved fulfillment". The black market in sex has ever been the most flourishing of all.

If man is the buyer in the sexual market, woman is both the seller and the commodity, wrapped into one. In this respect, the prostitute is only the cut-rate, tragic Sisyphus who must sell herself over and over again, without cease. If, in order to do this, she packages herself, like all cheap commodities, a little more gaudily, she does nothing qualitatively different from the respectable bourgeois "lady" who

sweeps past her with a disdainful rustle of skirts. It is no vagary that with the advent of capitalist society, color, style and variety went out of fashion in men's dress while becoming intensified to the point of absurd obsession among women. Other forms of decoration (jewelry, hairdress, perfume, cosmetics), too, became the almost exclusive possession of femininity in its fierce competition on the sexual market. That the realization of this commodity character into which human relationships have been cast is widespread if not generally acknowledged is demonstrated by the difference in popular attitude towards the bachelor, on the one hand, and the old maid, on the other: While the former is regarded, with something of an air of admiration, as one who has been too discriminating to be swindled, the latter is looked upon with compassion as one who has failed in the principal mission of her existence.

But the commodity character of modern society, pervading, as it does, all relationships, strikes even deeper than this into the sexual sphere, raising almost insurmountable obstacles to the achievement of an all-sided, truly free and human relationship between men and women. Where there is the market, there is the merciless prod of competition, and dogging the footsteps of competition is the curse of compulsory exclusive possessiveness, an emotional sweetmeat that most often turns to the bitterest gall. This refuge of the monogamous relationship, no matter how besouled with individual vileness it may get, often remains the only haven for its prisoners from a world in which the rule is alienation of individuals from each other, of conflict, overt and covert, and the ceaseless striving for advantage. By the fact that the commodity relationship has been consummated and therefore, for a good part, overcome by the act of marriage, the family becomes a refuge from the ceaseless pressure of the external world, in which dissimulation, deceit and conniving are the requisites for social survival, and each man wears, to a greater or lesser extent, a mask that conceals his true individuality and constitutes his armor in the competitive struggle. Inside the marriage relationship, this burden is, to some extent if not all, thrown off. The results, depending upon the nature of the individual behind the mask, are not necessarily salutary. At its best, individualized love may yield a relationship in which the human spirit can begin to blossom; at its worst, it breeds a poisonous bond in which love, consciously or half aware, turns to hatred, but in which one or both partners, aside from social and material compulsions (which are dominant), continues to feel the need of the other as a receptacle into which he can pour out all the bitterness distilled in his soul by an inhuman environment.

Thus, long after individualized love, in the sexual sense, is gone, the marriage partners are held together by force of circumstances and emotional attachments that may be anything but healthy. But regardless of the positive merits that the bond of attachment may have, it is always an exclusive one only in violation of natural instinct, which, unfettered, strives for variety and richness of experience. If this is overtly rejected, the cause, aside from all religious and, most important,

material factors (children, means of support, etc.), lies in the fear of loneliness, the striving to hold what one has rather than risk having nothing and facing life alone. Thus, the alienation of individuals from each other is reinforced by its own effects in a circle that can only be broken externally.

Despite this powerful bond, and aside from the cases in which love is transformed into positive aversion, the number of cases in which one or both partners turns finally to new satisfactions is enormous. For with many, as soon as the possibility of a new relationship actually materializes—and particularly when it seems possible, in addition, to maintain the old—the desire for a wider experience, in which the sexual is only one of several factors, asserts itself. But in most cases, the new relationship of necessity becomes even tawdrier than the old, turning into either a series of adventures devoid of all love or esteem for the possessed object as a human being or else a recapitulation of the initial experience in a new key. Instead of a free relationship, in which everything is open, the "affair", accompanied inevitably by lies and deception, falls into the classic pattern of "unfaithfulness". Yet, despite this, the proportion of those who draw from the experience a genuine satisfaction is not negligible, and a few, rising above the social level, lend to this, as to everything they touch, the magic of their own unquenchable spirit. The cavalier has ever been the subject of widespread, even if grudging, admiration—not so much because of the extent of his amatory experiences but because (a seeming paradox) of the sincerity he brings to each of them, the seeking of mutual pleasure for its own sake, accompanied by an esteem and a love more genuine than that of most marriages, even to-day. If the courtesan is held in somewhat lower regard, the cause is not hard to find. For her, each affair is a business enterprise. When she has played out the string, there generally awaits only an empty cup. Her reward is seldom more than the contempt that generally prevails for anyone with a price.

While the codified madness of church dogma on all matters pertaining to sex has always been more honored in the breach than in the observance (often by the church's own prelates), never has it been so universally disregarded as to-day. For if sexual restrictions, in their various forms, were never in conformity with *human* needs, until now they always had at least a semblance of *social* justification. The nature of kinship as the basic social unit in every society emerging from primitive incohesiveness made the elaboration of certain restrictive norms essential. In most early communal societies, however, with the exception of some whose development became distorted because of peculiar environmental conditions, these restrictions generally involved reasonably free relations prior to marriage and far from monogamous ones afterward. Accordingly, they were far more in accord with man's physical nature than those evolved through the course of centuries of slave, feudal and capitalist development. The church's "moral" proscriptions are, of course, an absurdity carried to a point beyond all the requirements of even an authoritarian, class-ridden society. They

serve only an auxiliary function in that social machine: That of mercilessly quenching the human spirit.

To-day, with social as well as elementary human needs in rebellion against the intrusion of outworn dogmas into personal life, the "moral code" has become little more than a veil of hypocrisy, foresworn in practice by a majority of its most ardent defenders in theory. Cant, even more hypocritical than in the heyday of the "double standard", denounces in public what it winks at in private, while organized religion, traditional guardian of "purity", makes a series of rotten compromises, some official, some *sub rosa*, from the sheer necessity of retaining any influence at all in the matter. The most devout Catholics, except in countries where the Church can back up the catechism with the whip, cheerfully ignore the interdiction of birth control, for example, and even receive priestly sanction for the laughable evasion involved in "rhythmic" indulgence. The development is essentially a generalization of the French attitude, which has always consigned the curé to his church.

The publication of the twin Kinsey reports, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*, created such a furore not because they disclosed something new but just because they confirmed statistically what everybody had long suspected: That human beings, given an opportunity, tend to act like human beings. The very newspapers that had been edifying their readers with daily accounts of extra-curricular bedroom activities of various celebrities were the loudest in anguished protests against Kinsey's dry statistical abstract as "an offense against American womanhood", the sanctity of the home and the innocence of childhood. Indeed, while denouncing the report on their editorial pages, these selfsame newspapers made certain to print summaries and extracts of the Kinsey findings at unprecedented length on their news pages, some, indeed, exploiting the report in the most lurid manner to the accompaniment of pictures of scantily clad girls expressing their horror at the findings in poses calculated to strengthen their validity.

As a matter of fact, had Kinsey's investigators confined themselves to questions on masturbation, "petting" and pre-marital relations, they might have escaped with little more than a few frowns of disapproval. For the revised, unwritten sexual code now prevailing in the United States reserves no more than a gently-raised eyebrow for transgressions outside the marital fold. In contrast, sternest disapprobation is maintained at least for women who overstep the bounds of matrimony, once contracted (the term itself is revealing). What is at stake is the family itself, which, in its monogamous form, remains a pillar of social inertia under capitalism. For despite the fact that group marriages has been characteristic of perhaps more societies than monogamous, including several that still flourish to-day, the capitalist ethos cannot tolerate any institutionalized deviation from its code of sexual exclusiveness. This ironbound inflexibility was demonstrated with most poignant results in the case of the Mormon fundamentalists of Short Creek, Arizona. This community of

36 men, 86 women and 200-odd children, nestled in a backwater near the Arizona-Utah border, was the last refuge of a group of firm-principled Mormons who refused to accept their church's surrender of polygamy, required by the United States before it would admit Utah to the Union. Migrating to a barren, deserted section of the Arizona hills, they hoped to be able to live in their own way, unnoticed and undisturbed. But they reckoned without the sovereign might of the State of Arizona.

On the early morning of 26th July, 1953, a long caravan of police, operating, like the G.P.U., under cover of darkness, rolled into Short Creek, rousing its inhabitants from their beds. Men and women were herded into the street like criminals, separated from their children while law officers broke into their larders to set up open-air soup kitchens at which the inhabitants were forced to eat within a few feet of their own homes. Arizona had neglected to pass a law banning polygamy, but this was no deterrent. This handful of Mormons, who had no weapons and seldom ventured from their tiny village, was solemnly accused of "conspiracy against the State". Assembled on their lawns, with their wives and children looking on in shock and bewilderment, the men of Short Creek heard themselves formally charged with "unlawful and notorious cohabitation", "bastardy", "rebellion" and "insurrection". The men were herded off to prison and their wives and children, shorn of support, forced to leave their homes. Released later to await trial, the men were strictly forbidden to live with their wives, who in many cases were separated from their children.

One of these hardened criminals, Edson Jessop, told his story in the 13th November, 1953, issue of *Colliers* magazine. He states the case for plural relationships strikingly:

At this stage of my story, I can anticipate your question: Can a man love five women at once? I've heard the question before; always I answer: Can a man love five children at once, or five friends, or five brothers and sisters. Show me the monogamous outsider who has not had a mistress—at least in his heart. Here in Short Creek we do not love in secret disgrace, we love in honor; we do not have abortions; we have children.

Of course, Mormon fundamentals, based on passages in the Bible, do not grant this polygamous privilege to women, making the relationship a one-sided one. Polygamous societies in general are based on feminine inferiority, and the reason is not hard to find. There are few societies in which men, subject to the hazards of war and the hunt, outnumber women. On the other hand, there are not many more in which either the surplus of women or the man's ability to support more than one is sufficient to make plural cohabitation a practicability for any but the most wealthy. Wives are, for the most part, directly or indirectly purchased, and the possession of a great many, as in Moslem countries, becomes a mark of opulence rather than the fulfillment of any human or social need. The economic necessity of the family, in either its more limited or wider sense, as a child-rearing unit has militated generally for a pairing relationship. The interdiction against

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ince, together with the increasing importance of assuring paternity as hereditarily-transmitted wealth increased, reinforces the tendency until it acquires absolute authority. Instructively enough, free sexual relations are generally permitted before marriage in most primitive monogamous societies, pointing clearly to the social motivation involved.

This conflict between individual and social need has led to no end of anguish, particularly in times of disequilibrium, when the irrationality of what become moral, religious, social and often political laws, is thrown most clearly into focus. Whether obeyed or flouted, tragedy is likely to be the result, and, indeed, the whole of literature is replete with instances of their toll in wretchedness and sorrow. If, on the other hand, they provide the basis for comedy, too, it is a tribute to the resources of the human spirit which, at its highest, knows how to mock its own fetters. Laws, it is generally recognized, are made to be broken. It is difficult enough, in societies based on scarcity and repression, to constrain actions which are indisputably harmful; it is all the more so to enforce prohibitions which make no sense even in the distorted rationale of an irrational society.

The extent to which elementary human needs make themselves heard, even under the most favorable circumstances, is most clearly illuminated in Dr. Alfred C. Kinsey's second report, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*. Of all the sections of this work, the one that stirred up the greatest furore was that on "marital infidelity". For marriage as a social institution under capitalism rests on the fiction of monogamy as the human norm. So deeply is this idea engrained, so pervasive the concept of exclusive, lifelong love that many persons are psychologically incapable of anything else. They become the embodiment of and model for the monogamous ideal, becoming evidence for the "naturalness" of that which has molded them. In many others, the icy hand of puritanism has withered all normal desires. Yet despite these considerations and others to be weighed later, Dr. Kinsey's investigators found the "astounding" total of 26 per cent of the women interviewed had experienced extra-marital relations by the age of 40. Kinsey adds the obvious:

Since the cover-up on any socially-disapproved sexual activity may be greater than the cover-up on more accepted activities, it is possible that the incidence and frequency of extra-marital coitus in the sample had been higher than our interviewing disclosed.

That one out of four women, at the most conservative estimate, was violating one of the most sacred interdictions in the sexual code was an admission not to be countenanced, lest generality be taken as normality and the last barriers swept away. The chorus of indignation reached a deafening crescendo: "An insult to American womanhood", "statistically unreliable", and (most crushing of all) "no nice girl would talk to Dr. Kinsey". Voices of appreciation were far fewer (indeed, they were liable to open one to suspicion), but it is not hard to imagine the silent gratitude of those whom the wish or the act had made feel like social outcasts.

It is not Kinsey's statistical data that is most instructive, however. It is the information he provides about the surrounding circumstances, causes and effects of extra-marital involvements:

For some of the females the extra-marital relationships had provided a new source of emotional satisfactions. Some of them had found it possible to develop such emotional relationships, while maintaining good relationships with their husbands. Others, however, had found it impossible to share such emotional relationships with more than one partner. In a culture which considers marital fidelity to be the symbol and proof of such other things as social conformance, law abidingness and love, many of the females had found it difficult to engage in non-marital sexual activities without becoming involved in guilt reactions and consequent social difficulties. The females who had accepted their extra-marital activity as another form of pleasure to be shared did not so often get into difficulties over their extra-marital relations.

That a significant number of persons in a society heavily laden with competition, religious cant, psycho-analytic "guilt" and socio-legal strictures are able to develop a substantially healthy approach to such a matter is a tribute to the resiliency of the human spirit. The cold grip of ritualized morality, more chilling even in its Protestant form than in its original Catholic costume, has strangled the joy of living wherever men have not had the force, the courage or the wisdom to break it. The symptomatic, but by no means only result, as Kinsey notes, is one of the few cultures in the history of the world that proscribes all sexual relations between unmarried adolescents and teen-agers. Times change and religion, stripped by science of most of its weekday authority, has come into considerable discredit, but the priests have acquired new garb and new language to preach the same sermon. They speak as psychologists, sociologists, physicians, authors of "marriage manuals", men of sophistication all. And lo! All that clericalism has been preaching for centuries on the basis of faith is now found to be 100 per cent sound on the foundation of "science". Medical, social, and psychological arguments are arrayed in a solid battery to defend the bastion of "purity". Where heretofore the woman who let down her defenses was risking eternal damnation, she is now more likely to incur the threat of eternal "unpopularity". Sex, once castigated as an unmixed if necessary evil, is now cried forth as indeed "beautiful"—when indulged in, after years of abnegation, in accordance with the proper laws, forms, ceremonies and incantations.

To enforce this secularized morality there stands, in the United States in particular, a legal code which can be termed nothing but barbarous. Kinsey cites penalties for statutory rape (sexual relations with a consenting girl under the legal age limit—in some cases as high as 18 or 21) exceeded in severity only by those for murder. Without a recommendation of mercy from the jury, the death sentence is mandatory in six States and optional in ten more. Life imprisonment may be imposed in 19 other States, and maximum terms of from 10 to 99 years in 13 others. Two States provide penalties up to life imprisonment for sexual relations short of coitus between a male over

16 and a female under 16 in one case, under 14 in the other. In at least four States, "petting" with a girl under consenting age has been legally interpreted and penalized as assault and battery. "Petting", regardless of age, may be penalized by three years' imprisonment in New Jersey and five years in Michigan. Thirty-five States provide penalties ranging from fines to imprisonment for non-marital coitus between adults. In 45 States, "sodomy" is punishable as a felony (and has been so punished) even between man and wife. Adultery may be punished by prison terms in 40 States, including single acts in ten. Homosexuality is a crime in every State but New York, in some States punishable (Kinsey) by penalties "as severe as the penalties against the most serious crimes of violence".

In the atmosphere bred by this socio-legal situation, it is hardly surprising to find, according to Kinsey, that:

Not infrequently, the extra-marital activities had led to the development of emotional relationships which had interfered with the relations with the lawfully wedded spouse. This had caused neglect and disagreement which had seriously affected some of the marriages.

But Kinsey is not convinced that this is a necessary concomitant of such relationships, as our latter-day moralists, grasping hard at "practical" arguments to bolster their rickety theological edifice, would have it:

We doubt whether such disturbances are inevitable, for there are cases of extra-marital relationships which do not seem to get into difficulties. There are strong-minded and determined individuals who can plan and control their extra-marital relationships in such a way that they avoid possible ill consequences. In such a case, however, the strong-minded spouse has to keep his or her activity from becoming known to the other spouse, unless the other spouse is equally strong-minded and willing to accept the extra-marital activity. Such persons do not constitute a majority in our present-day social organization.

Kinsey underestimates the difficulty and misinterprets the apparent absence of it in some cases, but first let it be noted that, despite all that has been said, Kinsey found that in fully 42 per cent of the cases in which husbands had discovered their wives "unfaithful", no difficulties whatsoever were reported. In another 16 per cent, only minor difficulties were reported. These figures, subject as they are to further interpretation, are nothing less than remarkable for a culture in which a husband can still kill his wife's lover and stand a better than 50-50 chance of complete acquittal.

Kinsey found further:

There is a not inconsiderable group of cases in the sample in which the husbands had encouraged their wives to engage in extra-marital activities. This represented a notable break with the centuries-old cultural tradition. In some instances, it represented a deliberate effort to extend the wife's opportunity to find satisfaction in sexual relations. In not a few instances, the husband's attitude had originated in his desire to find an excuse for his own extra-marital activity. What is sometimes known as wife-swapping usually involves this situation.

Kinsey found other elements, too, such as sadism and financial gain, inevitable in the social circumstances. But he insists:

It should, however, be emphasized again that most of the husbands who accepted or encouraged their wives' extra-marital activity had done so in an honest attempt to give them the opportunity for additional sexual satisfaction.

The university researcher, after sifting the facts, comes to a most radical conclusion—radical not because it offers a solution in itself but because it states the problem to which official society denies existence. In his concluding paragraph, Kinsey declares:

The reconciliation of the married individual's desire for coitus with a variety of sexual partners and the maintenance of a stable marriage presents a problem which has not been satisfactorily resolved in our culture.

A genius of understatement! It has not only been unresolved, it has hardly been recognized. The individual who professes it is likely to be deemed a fit candidate for prison, the divorce court or the psychoanalyst's couch. Psychiatrists, whose criticism of the individual rather than the social structure in which he lives has finally won them a place of honor in that structure, will pronounce him "abnormal" or (even more unanswerable) "immature". Freud, the great-grandfather of the family, was at great pains to correct the misapprehensions of those who read a revolutionary interpretation into his teachings. In the conflict between his "id" and his "superego", Freud ranged himself unhesitatingly on the side of the "superego", not just as a safeguard for the individual in an alien society but as the embodiment of social wisdom. The conflict, for Freud, is inevitable and never-ending following man's emergence from innocence. With the Oedipus myth substituting for the story of Adam and Eve and being ever re-enacted at each fireside, with the "superego" standing guard over the sinful "id" as over Pandora's box, the Freudian cosmology offers itself, all intentions aside, as a badly needed stand-in for the more tarnished moral-metaphysical systems. The latter, at first hostile to this upstart discipline, have become reconciled to it and even seek an alliance, which psychoanalysis is eager to offer. The culmination of this rapprochement has been the formation in the United States of the National Academy of Religion and Mental Health, composed of ministers and psychiatrists.

Kinsey's summary formulation poses the question: In what type of culture can the sexual problem be "satisfactorily resolved". That competition (although not necessarily capitalist competition) is at the root of it there can be little doubt (which is not to say that all individual sexual problems will vanish with the disappearance of capitalism). So-called "jealousy" among animals cannot be interpreted, as Kinsey tends to regard it, as an aversion to sharing sexual partners. It is a fear of losing what has often been acquired at great cost, for animal intelligence is seldom able to make the

distinction between temporary and permanent displacement. This accounts for hostility to rivals even in the face of sexual satiation, as well as all other manifestations of a dog-in-the-manger attitude. Group activity among animals is limited to what is necessary for survival and extends no further. Systematic mate-sharing is an impossibility because no animals, even the apes, have sufficiently developed brains to produce the ideation or means of communication to effect it. Thus, paradoxically enough, rising above animal nature does not, as is customarily supposed, consist in overcoming the urge to "promiscuity" (which animals, needless to say, display) but in adjusting social relations to permit rational fulfillment of this as well as other human needs.

Emergent human society recognized this need, for the most part, through the institution of group marriage, in which individual possession of a partner was almost unknown. The development of property, however, began to produce problems in this as in other spheres. Daughters became possessions and required, if not a fixed purchase price, extensive gifts. The bridegroom came to regard his bride, thus purchased, as personal property and was disinclined to permit another the enjoyment of what he had come by so dearly. More important, however, was the development of patrilineal descent and the consequent necessity of assuring the paternity of children. Thus, social evolution brought regression in this, as well as in other spheres of human relationships as the price of material progress.

The degree of restriction varies with circumstances and cultures. A lengthy quotation from Kinsey's anthropologic exploration is informative:

In no society anywhere in the world does there seem to have been any serious acceptance of complete sexual freedom as a substitute for the arrangements of a formal marriage. On the other hand, some cultures allow considerable freedom for both females and males in non-marital relationships. This is primarily true in groups which do not associate sex with social goals, with love and with other emotional values. Thus, one anthropologist records for the Lepcha that "sexual activity is practically divorced from emotion; it is a pleasant and amusing experience and as much a necessity as food and drink; and like food and drink, it does not matter from whom you receive it, as long as you get it, although you are naturally grateful to the people who provide you with either regularly". Another records for a second group that "intercourse is among all people whatsoever regarded essentially as a pleasure, and among the Arunta . . . there is no evidence that it is invested with any more meaning than that".

The anthropologists find that most societies recognize the necessity for accepting at least some extra-marital coitus as an escape-valve for the male, to relieve him from the pressures put on him by society's insistence on stable marital partnerships. These same societies, however, less often permit it for the female. But most societies have also recognized that some restraint on extra-marital activities is necessary if marriage and homes are to be maintained and if the social organization is to function effectively. As one anthropologist puts it, "unrestrained competition over food, drink and sexual partners would soon involve the destruction of any society". As another puts it, "Prohibitory regulations curb the more socially disruptive forms of social competition. Permissive regulations allow at least the minimum

impulse gratification required for individual well-being". And the third sums up the significance of a permissive attitude by pointing out that "pre-nuptial license and the relaxation of the marital bonds must not be regarded as a denial of marriage, but rather as its complement. The function of license is not to upset it but rather to maintain marriage".

Most societies, in consequence, permit or condone extra-marital coitus for the male if he is reasonably circumspect about it, and if he does not carry it to extremes which would break up his home, lead to any neglect of his family, outrage his in-laws, stir up public scandal or start difficulties with the husbands or other relatives of the women with whom he has his extra-marital relationships. Even in those societies which overtly forbid all extra-marital coitus, there is a covert toleration of occasional lapses if social difficulties do not arise from such acts. There are few if any human societies in which the male's extra-marital coitus is very stringently suppressed or very severely punished.

One point should be sufficiently well established: It is in its *social* aspects that sex has come to be a problem. Its severity has generally corresponded to the rigorousness of environmental problems (food, shelter, survival). In those societies (Samoa) where abundance prevailed, sexual relations have generally created little difficulty. And why should they, in a culture in which possession has little significance, purchase is unknown and trading the most marginal of activities.

It is pointless to rake over the sterile debate on the virtues of primitive innocence versus those of developed society (except in those cases where protest is in order against the attempt to establish a tuna fish cannery, a Baptist church and a hot dog stand on every Polynesian atoll), for in emerging from "primitive paradise", mankind embarked on a road on which there is no return—on the same level. The development of individualized love, despite the cargo of agony with which it has been freighted through the centuries, is a social advance over the matter-of-fact relationships of primitive society, even as the machine is an advance over the axe. The challenge is not to wipe out the advance but to purge it of its ambiguous nature and return to the primitive reconciliation of human and social needs on a higher level. Competitive society is unable to effect this reconciliation; it is replete, on the one hand, with marriages in which all trace of sexual passion has vanished, and with passing liaisons in which all semblance of sentiment is missing. The latter become inevitable, aside from the increasingly general alienation of human feeling, precisely because the puritanical code puts a premium on the nakedly physical; the starving man is not likely to be delicate in his tastes. This is the fate that stalks all too many of the extra-marital alliances which Kinsey's research has detailed. Unable to seek satisfaction naturally, the hunt for it takes on a quality of desperation which makes any game its prey.

With the disappearance of want and competition, with the scrapping of a codified "morality" which pokes its nose into purely personal affairs which have nothing to do with true morality, individualized love, purged of its compulsory exclusive and lifelong character, can fall into its rightful place as the highest form of relationship between the sexes. But its fetishization as the only normative relationship is not likely to endure. It is not easy to forecast in this field, where,

above all, events must be allowed to take their natural course free of the restrictions imposed by preconceptions as to what is "right". But it is likely that the relaxation of restrictions will free individualized love of some of its desperate intensity and leave room for other relationships in which human feelings will not be lacking. These relationships, to be sure, will not be without all difficulties, for a certain friction between individuals is impossible to eliminate under the most utopian of circumstances. There will be individual problems arising from sex, as from other things, but sex as a problem will be relegated to the archives along with the other problems of what has been called man's pre-history.

CORRESPONDENCE

1. LETTER TO AN AUTHOR.

New York, N.Y.
2nd April, 1958.

Dear Andrew,

I must confess some disappointment with your comments on Housing in Britain appearing in No. 32 (January-February, 1958). True, they are comments and not intended as an exhaustive treatment. Nevertheless, I wonder in cases like this whether it would not have been better to refrain from commenting for the sake of a more complete analysis. I realize that there is a great temptation to get a word in edge-wise on some immediate issue that has created a stir. Heaven knows that our magazine is far from being as contemporary as we would like. Still and all there are certain issues and events which require only five pages and there are others which of their nature demand much more. Of the former are acts of extraordinary injustice given little coverage in the Press, policies which are transparently irrational or stupid, and examples of notorious corruption and hypocrisy in high places. The last two types in particular are the stuff from which our short pieces are made, a fine model being the vignette on the Democratic Party Convention by Paul Ecker in No. 29.

It is possible that the acrimonious debate centering on the Rent Bill could have been made the subject for a light piece of ridicule and satire. Unfortunately it was not. It *began* with a general solution that is appropriate and makes sense only after a competent, *serious* analysis has been presented. Without this analysis the solution is convincing only to those who were convinced of it in advance. For these people, who, alas, are very few in number, it would require substituting a word or two here and there and we would have a fine brace of five-page articles on the nutrition, clothing, transport, and pollution problems. I ask, has the housing problem in Britain produced such a piping hot revolutionary situation that all that is necessary is simply to point the way?

Another question: Are we so surrounded by admiring throngs who dote upon our every word that we can afford to make *hypothetical* "somewhat high" estimates of the number of houses that need replacement in Britain? This is typical of the crassness of the article in general which, despite the scattering of occasional facts in it, offers the reader very little other than the assertion that a housing problem exists and that it would not exist were it not for armaments and that it will be erased with the coming of the New Age.

No, my friend, it will not do, and I for one would rather see a thorough job appear a year late and run the risk of being called *Ancient Issues* than endure a sacrifice in quality. What really hurts is that the magazine is desperate for thorough jobs on a host of subjects of which Housing in Britain is but one. And here an opportunity arises which is not taken advantage of.

If your comments on housing in Britain failed to reveal "all the interrelationships", if it did not describe the squalor in which so many live and at what price, it would have been disappointing but still endurable. However, there are certain sins of commission beside which the sins of omission look pale.

I am most unhappy with the beginning of Part 2 in which you state: "The removal of State interference from *any part* of the life of a country is to be *unreservedly* welcome." Shades of Cobden, Bright and Robert Taft, that is putting it a little strongly, isn't it? Are we really for free trade, after all, without qualification? Our position, I daresay, is somewhat more subtle than that. We are perfectly well aware that the function of the State is to preserve the property relations of capitalism. But let us not forget that it does this in two ways. On the one hand it holds the masses at bay, preserves and even deepens the social inequalities, cuts greater slices out of our democratic rights and in general prepares the way for the complete monopolization of public life and material resources in the hands of the ruling minority. On the other hand it cannot allow the expropriation of the majority to get out of control. Capitalism must protect itself against its own excesses. In this the State plays a regulatory function without which the system would collapse in an orgy of looting. Without the pure food and drug laws we should probably be poisoned to death. Without the bureau of standards we should probably be cheated out of our last penny. Aye, and without the rent control laws many of us should probably be squatting in makeshift hovels. These are the inevitable consequences of unrestrained profit making.

To the extent that laws and regulations are in the *interest of the majority* we support them. At the same time it is our task to expose the inadequacies, the waste and inequalities as they appear in the laws and in government action in general and to demonstrate that all its efforts are either harmful or else mere palliatives which only postpone the day of reckoning. But this is far from demanding that the government evacuate every sphere of life which, in the context of present conditions, can only result in the complete flagellation of the majority by the minority.

You seem to forget that despite the levelling out that is taking place under monopoly capitalism certain traditional class antagonisms still persist and quite irreconcilably so. I allude in particular to that between landlord and tenant. By advocating complete decontrol you have placed yourself squarely on the side of a long-cursed parasitic minority element as against an equally long-abused majority element. You choose to bleed for the poor landlords who are having difficulty getting their 6 per cent or higher whereas the tenants you practically drive to church with your solemnly intoned: Ah, brothers, this may be bad but it will get worse and increasingly so till Armageddon!

Is rent control in the interest of the majority? I say categorically that if rent controls were removed in some large cities in this country, particularly New York, it would cause extreme hardship for millions of people. Does anyone in his right mind expect that rents will fall? Does anyone think for one moment that the ensuing construction boom would in the least way be directed toward low-income groups who are in most need of new accommodation? The fact is that apartments built here after the war are generally free of controls. I assure you the average family cannot afford them. Because there is not enough profit in low-income housing it has become the exclusive domain of the Government. Ugly and restrictive as they are, the "projects" are nevertheless the only alternative offered to those inhabiting the miserable, infested tenements. Does anyone think that the increased volume of control-free housing construction will lower rents? Don't worry, the real estate boys are as smart as General Motors. When they can't get their price they stop building.

Although a large body of water separates me from the housing situation in England, I gather from several reports in the American Press that the Rent Act has indeed begun to inflict upon many tenants those hardships which you asked that they resign themselves to. Please bear with the following excerpts (I have supplied emphasis where appropriate):

After a warm debate the House of Commons rejected to-day a Labor Party motion censuring the Government for lifting some rent controls and relaxing others. . . . The controversy that erupted when the rent legislation was offered Parliament has become even sharper now that *rent increases are becoming effective and some tenants are facing the possibility of eviction*. The Labor Party has made the act a major issue in by-elections and it plans to do so in the next general election. *Many Conservative voters who have enjoyed the benefits of rent controls, in effect since 1939, are also critical of the act.* Worried about the reaction of these voters, some Conservative members of Commons are seeking changes in the act to safeguard tenants against landlord abuses. But none voted against the Government and only a few abstained . . . Under the act limited increases were permitted on *many low-rent dwelling places* but tenants' security of tenure was continued. Many higher-rent dwellings are being decontrolled completely.

(*New York Times*, 4th March, 1958.)

However hypocritical the Labor Party may be in its criticism of the Rent Act it has nevertheless seized upon an issue which vitally concerns Britons. Not only are the people not resigned to being

gouged more thoroughly by their landlords, they have resolved to make this an important issue in the election of representatives to Parliament. This is borne out in the following:

Judging by questions asked at political meetings in this Glasgow contest (Kelvingrove by-election) it is the voters' opinions on the recent act removing rent controls and the Government's anti-inflation credit squeeze that will determine whether the Conservatives will retain the Kelvingrove seat in to-morrow's poll.

(*New York Times*, 13th March, 1958.)

The subsequent Labor victory at Kelvingrove was interpreted by Gaitskell as "a clear call to amend the Rent Act without delay". Aside from Mr. Gaitskell's exalted opinions it is certain that there is widespread opposition to the Rent Act, an opposition shared by all except landlords, Tories and, alas, *Contemporary Issues*.

The thought occurred to me while reading your lament for the landlord that perhaps what led you astray was the idea that small business (including landlords) is our ally in the struggle against totalitarianism and that its interests must be defended against the monopolists. Here, too, is a misconception. We support any particular interest *only in so far as it coincides with the general interest*. However much the farmers may demand them, we are opposed to a system of price supports which results in the maintenance of scarcity and high prices for the consumer. Nor are we favorably disposed to small manufacturers who are yelling for a larger share in war contracts. However, if cattlemen in Nevada call for an end to nuclear explosions because their cattle are dropping off like flies, or if some businessman is opposed to wire-tapping because he is afraid of losing some trade secrets, or if some farmers are opposed to military conscription because they cannot run their farms without their sons—then, by Jove, three cheers for the little burghers, we're with them to a man!

In conclusion, although there are several other formulations that are objectionable, I have only enough ammunition for one parting shot. This has to do with your dressing down of the ill-starred Mr. Callaghan whom you accuse of being responsible for the "crippling effect of the diversion of enormous sums of money to wasteful production such as armaments . . . a policy of which the deplorable housing situation is a *result*". So! The deplorable housing situation is a result of armaments expenditures. Pray, what is not a result of armaments expenditures? Do you have bad teeth? Is it not a result of armaments expenditures? Has your wife deserted you? Is it not a result of armaments expenditures?

I take it then that before armaments production began on a large scale there was no deplorable housing situation in England. And to-morrow, if armaments production suddenly ceased, there would be no deplorable housing situation. In that case only one conclusion is possible. Capitalism itself is simply a class society based upon armaments production in which the armed majority stands in antagonistic relationship to the unarmed majority. It started deep in the womb of feudalism when some fugitive serfs drifted to the medieval

towns and started to make firecrackers. And now, in its old age, the system is ready to explode!

It is unfortunate that for want of more careful wording the impression is given that the immense sums spent for armaments are solely responsible for the housing situation. Certainly the diversion of vital resources to wasteful production serves to maintain, aggravate and even produce scarcities where none existed. The costs of maintaining huge armies of soldiers and bureaucrats, of servicing "conventional" and atomic weapons of war, place great burdens upon producer and consumer alike and impede the circulation of commodities in general. However, this is not the only factor responsible for those conditions of mass deprivation of which housing is but one instance. There is also the high price of steel, cement and other building materials, the high price of construction labor, the high price of urban real estate, and the high profits of builders and landlords who thrive on the housing shortage which must be taken into account. In combination these elements have turned new or at least adequate housing accommodations into luxury products which very few low and middle income families can afford. They were responsible for the deplorable housing situation long before large-scale armaments production began and they would preserve it even if military expenditures were to suddenly stop, assuming that capitalism could survive such a "catastrophe". There is no doubt that the arms program abets the housing situation, but it is one thing to say that the arms program represents the squandering of social wealth which could *potentially* be used for human betterment and it is another thing to say that it is the sole *cause* of human want.

Best regards,

J. Grossman.

2. A PROTEST AGAINST THE AERIAL SPRAYING OF DIELDRIN.

5725, Harper Avenue,
Chicago 37, Illinois.
5th March, 1958.

To *Contemporary Issues*:

Dear Mr. Herber,

Knowing your keen interest in the dangers to human beings inherent in insecticides, I am sending you a copy of a letter we wrote to Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Peterson protesting against aerial broadcasting of dieldrin against the imported fire ants. I am also enclosing a covering letter which we sent to "Fellow Conservationists", and a copy of a release on the subject from the last *Outdoor News Bulletin* put out by the Wildlife Management Institute.

I hope you will bring this great threat to wildlife and human life to the attention of your readers of *Contemporary Issues*.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Margaret M. Nice.

5725, Harper Avenue,
Chicago 37, Illinois.
6th February, 1958.

Mr. E. L. Peterson,
Assistant Secretary of Agriculture,
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Sir,

We regret to say that we are entirely unconvinced by the answers to our protests against your plan of spraying dieldrin at 2 lb. an acre over 27,000,000 acres in nine southern States in an attempt to eradicate the imported fire ant.

For years we have followed the reports of wholesale killing of birds by insecticides in Germany, England, and particularly in this country. Again and again it has been found that D.D.T. at 1 lb. an acre wipes out fish and other aquatic life; at 2 lb. it kills great numbers of birds as well as beneficial insects and other animals. Dieldrin, according to advice received from an entomologist engaged in fire ant control, is five times as deadly as D.D.T.

The California Department of Fish and Game found that 1½ lb. of dieldrin an acre "caused the death of dogs, chickens, geese, turkeys, jack rabbits, snakes, gophers, quail and pheasants" (*New York Times*, 2nd January, 1958). Dr. John L. George of the New York Zoological Society reports that dieldrin "killed all rodents and rabbits" at a lower dosage than that now being used in the south, and killed birds at one-tenth the present rate.

In recent articles in the *Journal of Economic Entomology* the authors advocate ground and underground treatment of fire ants in their mounds and tunnels. Cockerham and Clower (*Agr. Ext. Pub.* 1215, Louisiana State Univ., June, 1957) warn against the dangers of dieldrin to stock and people, and state that sprays are "the least effective of any method" against these ants.

Nevertheless, in O. K. Moore's article telling of your plans (*New York Times*, 19th January, 1958) aerial spraying is described as an integral part of the campaign. We know that it has already been used in Georgia.

Have you considered that in spraying this powerful poison from the air that you are breaking State and Federal laws that protect song birds? That you are violating our International Treaty with Canada in killing their birds migrating through the south?

Have you considered that you will exterminate fish in large areas (*Jour. Wildlife Management*, January, 1958), as well as rabbits, mourning doves and bobwhites? Kill bees and domestic stock? And, finally, have you thought of what the accumulation of these deadly poisons in our soils, water and food is going to do to the human race?

We urge you most strongly to *pinpoint your efforts on the ants*

themselves and to cease aerial spraying with dieldrin which does little damage to the ants but incalculable harm to innocent and valuable forms of life.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) Margaret M. Nice, Sc.D.,
Past President of Wilson Ornithological Society.

(Signed) L. B. Nice, Ph.D.,
Professor Emeritus of Physiology, Chicago Medical School.

(Signed) Constance Nice, B.S.,
Facts Research Service, Inc.

5725, Harper Avenue,
Chicago 37, Illinois.
6th February, 1958.

Fellow Conservationists,

The Government takes our money and spends it to ruin our beautiful country. It subsidizes the drainage of wet lands; it deliberately poisons our native mammals; and in its current campaign against one insect it is, incidentally, planning to create a biological desert in the south.

Originally the U.S.D.A. claimed it did not contemplate aerial spraying in this campaign against the fire ant. In their "reassuring" letters to protesters they make no mention of this subject. But O. K. Moore's article in the *New York Times* of 19th January, 1958, which appears to be officially approved, says: "Aerial and ground spraying by Federal-State teams is the chief control measure . . . In all probability the spray will be turned off over ponds, lakes, and rivers." Herbert L. Stoddard of Thomasville, Ga., writes (8th January): "The newspapers have stated that 'several thousand' acres were aeroplane treated in neighboring Decatur County, near Bainbridge".

In a very interesting letter R. B. Stoddard points out that from about 1928 to 1941 the Bureau of Entomology of the U.S. Department of Agriculture made rapid progress in developing insecticides that were highly effective against particular pests but could be used without hazard to other forms of life. "One wonders exactly when and why the idea was thrown overboard" (*New York Times*, 11th January, 1958). Maybe the pesticide manufacturers had something to do with this disastrous swing to shotgun remedies that kill just about everything.

The Izaak Walton League is sponsoring bills to implement research on selective methods of dealing with pests. These are S2447, introduced by Magnusson, and HR 783 introduced by Metcalf. These are certainly admirable.

John C. Devlin's article on 23rd December, 1957, in the *New York Times*—"U.S. Helping South in Fire Ant Fight" concludes: "For their ant campaign, members of the Plant and Pest Control Division of the Department of Agriculture, are utilizing a lesson learned from their battles with the public over the gypsy moth spraying. They have conducted an education program in the south to show the need for spraying. State committees have been organized and the aid of county

farm agents, sportsmen and conservationists enlisted. Strong public support has resulted". We wonder whether they mentioned aerial spraying.

We have to fight continually to keep even a remnant of nature. Write letters or postcards, and get others to write to Sec. Benson, to your Congressmen and your newspapers, saying you are unalterably opposed to the spraying of dieldrin from the air in this campaign. It is inefficient against the ants in their tunnels but horribly efficient against most animal life on the surface of the ground or in the water.

Yours for Victory,

The Nices.

Taken from *Outdoor News Bulletin*, 14-2-58.

Fire Ant Control Program Can Boomerang:

Committed to co-operate with ten southern States in an ambitious plan to control fire ants, the Department of Agriculture has embarked on a program that could be the biggest boomerang in the controversy studded history of mass insect poisoning campaigns, according to the Wildlife Management Institute.

Control plans call for the application of two super poisons—dieldrin and heptachlor—in mixtures of fine clay at the rate of 2 lb. to the acre. Thousands of acres already have been treated with dieldrin, and by early summer about 1,000,000 of the 20,000,000 acres slated for poisoning will have been covered.

Members of the same chemical family as the well-known D.D.T., dieldrin and heptachlor, like D.D.T., are stable and will remain toxic for years after dispersal. Unlike D.D.T., however, they are 20 times or more as toxic to animal life. Laboratory work and limited field observations have shown dieldrin to be totally destructive of birds, fish, and other animal life in quantities well below the application rate for fire ant control. One 200,000th of an ounce of dieldrin per day in the food of pheasants resulted in eggs of low hatchability and chicks subject to abnormal death rates. Dieldrin was given for a two-month period.

Less is known about the effect of the poisons on human physiology and reproduction and that of livestock. Dieldrin that is washed into streams and farm ponds by rainfall can bring on devastating kills of fishes and aquatic organisms. Because dieldrin is not a specific poison, beneficial insects and soil organisms will be killed along with the noxious fire ants. Experts already are warning that the mass removal of natural insect populations may result in the invasion of treated areas by a host of organisms that are injurious to man, his activities, and enterprises.

Aerial spraying of D.D.T. for insect control in Montana, New Brunswick, and the north-east brought on the death of much aquatic and other animal life. What happens from the spreading of a poison 20 times more toxic across the south remains to be seen, unfortunately, because little, if any, testing was done on a field experimental basis prior to launching the actual program.

FOR THE IMMEDIATE INDEPENDENCE OF NYASALAND !

THE white masters of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland with the support of the British Government has declared war on the African people of Nyasaland. A state of emergency has been declared; the leaders of the Nyasaland African National Congress, the intellectual flower of the country, have been arrested and deported to Southern Rhodesia. Collective fines are to be levied to pay for damage caused by the attack of the whites and for the expenses of "security forces," the money to be stopped from funds paid to farmers for their tobacco and ground-nut crops. There have even been threats that tobacco markets will not be opened in those areas where there is unrest—blackmail by starvation is to support military operations. Already the campaign, in which troops are being assisted by vampire jet aircraft and armoured cars, has resulted in the murder of 44 unarmed people. "White civilisation" in Rhodesia (as elsewhere: Algeria, Kenya, Belgian Congo) has taken off its mask. Faced with the unanimous will of Nyasaland—a country in which live 2,630,000 Africans, but only 7,500 whites—for independence, it now shows what it really has all along meant by "partnership". Gone are the

ideological trimmings. When confronted by the aspirations for independence of the oppressed peoples, they can reproduce only the methods of the Russians. At the point of a gun, the whites tell the Africans: "White supremacy is here to stay. That is what Federation is to ensure. Swallow it whole or die."

The lack of any possible motive for the unprovoked attack on the people of Nyasaland, other than the open determination of the whites to prevent them from becoming independent, no matter how bloody the cost, and the unhesitating willingness of the British Government to help them in the endeavour, at once roused vigorous protest in Britain. Obviously taken by surprise by the heat of the reaction, the Government were at first unable to hint at any alternative explanation that would put the matter in a more favourable light. From this plight they were soon rescued by the arch-reactionary Welensky (one good turn deserves another!): he informed the Government that the leaders of the Nyasaland African National Congress had been on the point of carrying out a plot to murder all the whites in Nyasaland. So opportune was this fantastic "discovery" that no one, except those committed to white supremacy, was prepared to believe it without strong supporting evidence. This Mr. Lennox-Boyd has refused to give, though his remarks in the Commons on 3rd March suggested that he had then already seen convincing evidence enough. How strange then to find in the *Observer* (8th March) that, so far, nothing exists but the verbal information (!) of police spies (!) about a supposed "secret meeting in a forest near Blantyre on 25th January at which between 120 and 150 delegates, meeting under the aegis of the Nyasaland African Congress, discussed proposals for a campaign of violence"! How even stranger to read that the police "are seeking evidence to support their contention among documents seized in a dawn raid on Tuesday (3rd March!) and in subsequent searches." Mr. Lennox-Boyd had thus seen the evidence before it had even been found by those most eager to have it!

No one need doubt that "evidence" will, of course, be "found"; the revelations in the course of the Macharia trial in Kenya have shown how this is done.

The fact is, as has been widely reported, that from the start the violence has been wholly on the side of the whites: police, and troops have done all the shooting. Whatever the Nyasa have done in their astonishingly peaceable protests has been done to protect themselves from the provocation of the whites. *The New Statesman* remarks: "Who were the Africans going to massacre? For a week they were in complete control of the northern province of Nyasaland and not a life was lost. But on Tuesday, when the emergency was declared, at least 26 Africans were killed by the security forces." *The Spectator* is equally positive: "Until the Nyasaland Congress was outlawed and its leaders arrested, and the troops opened fire in Blantyre, the Nyasaland riots were oddly lacking in real violence. . . . Newspaper reports of 'African mobs' evoke horrifying pictures in minds brought up on Kipling and Henry Newbolt; but these were

fairly good-tempered mobs and were only doing a good deal more peaceably what the Chartists were doing in Britain little over a century ago, and for very much the same reasons—under-privilege and under-representation." The *Manchester Guardian* and the *Observer* commented pointedly on this aspect of the situation.

Everything known about the Nyasaland African National Congress strengthens the view that the story of the "plot" is a lie. Congress is no secret society; it is an open political movement supported by the majority of Nyasalanders and its aims and activities have been public. The crime of the Congress is to voice and organise the aspirations of the people to independence; the even worse crime of Dr. Hastings Banda is to have put an end to the dissensions which bedevilled and weakened the movement until his arrival eight months ago, and with unity to have given it strength. To the superbly democratic nature of the policy of Congress, Dr. Banda gave striking expression in a special message on the eve of his arrest: "I want to tell the people of Britain that whatever they may hear, neither I nor the Nyasaland African Congress has ever been anti-European, and still less anti-British. All we want is secession from the Federation, and a Government of our own, in which Europeans of goodwill can share. Europeans who want to be our neighbours, guests or fellow-citizens need have no fear that we are going to drive them into the sea. We will not have Europeans who want to dominate us, but all who are prepared to accept equality of opportunity would be welcome. We have no intention of confiscating European or Indian tea estates, or in any way preventing Europeans or Indians from prospering in Nyasaland. There would be room in the government for them too. We want to remain in the Commonwealth—but just allow us to get out of Federation and away from domination by the whites of Southern Rhodesia. Perhaps if we cannot stand alone we can federate with Tanganyika. But at any cost we must get out of the Federation."

Could any greater contrast be found than that between these enlightened, peaceful and humane views, reflecting the wishes of a supposedly uneducated and "immature" African people, and the inhuman, rabidly racialistic and recklessly violent *actions* of the so-called "educated" and "civilised" whites! To point the contrast further, on the eve of the alleged forest meeting, Dr. Banda made a public call to Africans to show patience in the coming constitutional negotiations. "Even when the Secretary of State for the Colonies announces a new Constitution in London, and the Governor in Nyasaland, that will not be the end of the matter. There will be discussion and compromises . . . take here and give there. We, the army of the great Nyasaland Congress, must be a disciplined army and not a mob. Nobody must do anything for himself without orders. In that way the world will know we are a responsible body and responsible people."

There is no question: "The conspiracy was organised by the other side" (*New Statesman*). "The fact is, of course," wrote Mr.

A. K. Mayanja to *The Times* (5th March), "that Federation was imposed upon this unwilling and unnatural partner for purely political reasons, to prevent the growth of 'Gold Coasts' in the neighbourhood of Southern Rhodesia and thus perhaps threaten the enjoyment of European domination in that area. With great respect, the solution you propose in Nyasaland—developing it as an African State within the Federation—cannot work for the good reason that the objectives of African nationalism and those of the Federation are diametrically opposed. Africans want to be and live as men in their own country; they want to move freely without passes; to eat wherever they please; and to organise their trade unions and political parties without the fear of being beaten up and gaoled as European philosophy in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia appears to ordain."

For this latest bloody manifestation of white rule, the British Governments, Labour and Conservative, are responsible: Labour for originating the plan for Federation and Conservative for carrying it out. Mr. Mayanja is wrong in supposing that the reasons for Federation were "purely political". There were, and are, weighty economic considerations, the chief of which is the supply of cheap labour which alone makes profitable the extractive and agricultural industries upon which the prosperity of Southern and Northern Rhodesia as *white States* depends. It is no accident that the strike for a pitiful shilling an hour at the Kariba dam the which to make possible over 25,000 Africans were removed from their homes, and where the work is being rushed without the slightest consideration for the safety of the African workers who include large numbers of Nyasalanders, should have occurred just before the declaration of the emergency in Southern Rhodesia. For years there have been attempts by the mine-workers in Northern Rhodesia to improve their lot. The Welensky's and indeed the entire white minority in these countries are well aware of the powerful impetus which a victorious and independent Nyasaland would give to the as yet weak African political movements in the Rhodesias. It was the "liberal" Mr. Todd who said in 1957 (in answer to some people in Rhodesia who proposed throwing Nyasaland out of the Federation since it was but a millstone round their necks): "This is shallow thinking. The Federation will need the labour force that exists in Nyasaland. And if Nyasaland goes, then Africans in Northern Rhodesia will also demand to go." (*The Times*, 22nd November, 1957). That, at bottom, is what has determined the whites to seize the opportunity for a showdown, to crush the most dangerous political movement in the three territories (that in Nyasaland), and assure themselves of continued cheap labour by bringing *all* Africans into a condition of abject servitude. These people know what they are about; they know well that their rule may henceforth be somewhat like a state of permanent warfare. For that reason, the Government of Southern Rhodesia (ever the bell-wether) is taking steps to make the penal laws against African political life, hurriedly passed for the "emergency", a permanent feature of the constitution. The African Congresses of all Southern Africa are to be forever banned. (Even in South Africa, where white rule is held

to be at its most reactionary, such a law has not yet been passed.) It must not, however, be overlooked that enormous amounts of British capital, invested in the Rhodesias, and the profits derived therefrom, are equally threatened by the upsurge of African independence movements. Support for the arch-reactionary Federal and Rhodesian Governments has, for this reason, all along been the policy of the British Government. The Government has indeed cause to congratulate itself on the fact that at the critical moment it has found in the Welensky's and other "true and loyal friends" people thirsting and eager to do their dirty work for them, thus giving them the opportunity of continuing their "multi-racial" pose before the British public.

But the facts speak for themselves: Federation was imposed upon an unwilling Nyasaland in defiance of the implicit undertaking given by the then British Government to the chiefs of Nyasaland when it became a crown colony not to alter the status of the country without the consent and desire of the chiefs and the people. Since 1953, more and more power has been given to the Federal Government, and all the provisions whereby the African people of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland retained their "protected" status (included ostensibly to safeguard them from the worst excesses of the whites) therewith have become impossible to carry out in practice. Last year the Rev. Andrew Doig, who represented Nyasaland Africans, resigned from the Federal Parliament, because the Federal Government had already broken the agreement of 1953 and ignored the protests of the African Affairs Board. (In contradistinction, all legal protests by the Nyasa people to the British Government, from the first delegation of the chiefs to Britain in 1953, until now, have been ignored.) Now we are informed that the Preambles to the Federal Act, in which protectorate status is supposedly "entrenched", have no force in law! The conclusion is inescapable: the intention from the first was ultimately to bring the conditions of the Nyasa people into line with those prevailing in the Rhodesias. No doubt the various Governments would have preferred it, if African quislings had arisen to give some semblance of truth to the lie of "partnership." "British policy," recently said the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, "was to maintain Western standards of civilisation and leadership [there is a grim irony in this!] but not necessarily white leadership." Unfortunately, the quislings failed to come forward in sufficient numbers; and those who did, commanded no support. Thus there was nothing else for it: the whites, including the British Government, had to carry through the plan themselves.

The increasingly intransigent opposition of Nyasaland to Federation as 1960 approached (when the Federal Constitution was scheduled to be "reconsidered" in accordance with the demands of the white ruling minority especially in Southern Rhodesia which could not wait to sweep away every obstacle to the wholesale exploitation of the land and peoples of the entire Federation), brought the day of reckoning nearer. Events made it plain that there was no longer any possibility of their acceding to an arrangement cynically

described already in 1956 by the *Economist* as "something which can be defended as a liberal move by the Colonial Secretary in the House of Commons; will look like a bargain to Africans and induce them to drop their 'protected' status; will satisfy Europeans that in practice it will make no difference to their electoral preponderance". The prospective visit of Lord Perth brought matters to a head: the leaders of the Nyasaland Congress made preparations to impress upon him that nothing short of independence and secession would be acceptable to them. Knowing this, and uncertain of the issue, Welensky acted. From then on, every move was a deliberate provocation, an attempt to force the Nyasa people into violence, in order to make the attack upon them appear a counter-attack. Taking as an excuse the unrest in Nyasaland caused by the rumours of imminent armed intervention from Rhodesia (which caused the people to try to make the airfields unusable) and of the imminent arrest of Dr. Banda, and the riots provoked by the arrogant behaviour of the police (all of which were misrepresented in the Press as attacks by the Africans and brought strong protests from missionaries who had been eyewitnesses of police brutality), he put pressure on the Governor of Nyasaland to "ask" for reinforcements, caused a state of emergency to be proclaimed in Southern Rhodesia, and, in due course, on the pretext of having discovered a "plot" persuaded Sir Robert Armitage, at the very moment when he had stated that there was no need for it since the situation was under control, to do the same in Nyasaland and arrest and deport the leaders of the African National Congress in Nyasaland. Obligingly, the British Government called off the visit of Lord Perth (which might even at this late hour have been productive of some good) and, acceding to all the outrageous demands of Welensky, the prime-mover in the affair, delivered the hapless Nyasalanders to the whites. The war had begun: they had succeeded in their conspiracy.

There is only one way of preventing an Algeria in Nyasaland where, according to the *Observer* (8th March), there are indications "that African reaction to the Government's assault on Nyasaland's African Congress is being channelled into disciplined resistance instead of formless rioting":

ALL MEMBERS OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS ARRESTED MUST BE FREED, AND NYASALAND MUST BE GRANTED IMMEDIATE INDEPENDENCE WHICH INCLUDES, OF NECESSITY, THE RIGHT TO SECEDE FROM THE FEDERATION.

Nothing else, at this stage, will do. The Labour Party's claim (only the Labour Party could be so egregiously blind and stupid) that the Nyasalanders want to revert to their "protected" status would not even be worth considering, since it has nothing to do with what the Nyasalanders are in fact now demanding, were it not that it shows that the Labour Party (despite its pretentious and empty "socialist" baggage) is no more prepared to countenance the

independence of Nyasaland than is the Government. Its highest aspirations for Nyasaland are limited to a further unspecified period of tutelage under the benevolent auspices of the Colonial Office, about which Mr. Mayanja has so eloquently written: "To argue that Nyasalanders should not get self-government because 'the country is woefully lacking in Africans capable of governing the country' is to convict the British Government, which has governed Nyasaland for 60 years, of failure to carry out its declared policy of developing colonial territories within the Commonwealth and to support those who insist that only a government responsible to the people can pursue an educational policy capable of producing the necessary personnel".

The suggestion that Nyasaland Africans be given preponderance in their territorial government, while remaining in the Federation is also beside the point.

The last word on the matter has been said by Dr. Banda: "That the European settlers want Federation is no justification any more than the fact that a section of the Hungarians wanted the Russian-imposed régime, for imposing an unwanted régime on the African people". This is, furthermore, an effective rejoinder to Welensky's boorish smear that the movement in Nyasaland is Communist inspired.

An independent Commission of Inquiry composed of people not prepossessed in favour of Federation in any form and which has free access to *all* information would be a useful way of publicising the true facts of the situation in Nyasaland and its genesis; but only on condition that it does not, as in the intention of the Labour and Liberal Parties, *take the place* of immediate measures to ensure the independence of Nyasaland; for in this case it would be only a way of gaining time and allowing the invading whites to consolidate their position in Nyasaland.

What will happen in Nyasaland once it is independent is not for anyone but the Nyasalanders to decide. One thing is certain: it is scarcely possible that they will create for themselves conditions as atrocious as those they will have to endure should their struggle for independence not end in victory now. Let those who are so concerned about the "economic viability" of Nyasaland ponder the words of Mr. Belshaw, of the Cambridge School of Agriculture, in a letter to *The Times* (5th March) in answer to Captain Waterhouse: ". . . There are bases of viability for an African peasant economy other than migrant labour, with its twin evils of crowded mining camps and a labourless rural economy, or a white-Rhodesian type of agriculture with the management skills vested in white hands, or extractive industries which can compete in distant world markets with the aid of low wage labour. May one ask what thought Captain Waterhouse has given to the possibility of the Nyasa people emulating the Chagga coffee farmers, the Yerubas with their cocoa farms, or the cotton farmers of the Gezira and Buganda? However, the main point at issue seems to me whether any argument drawn from geography or economics alone can be adequate in a discussion of

the 'present standard of life' of the people of Nyasaland. Such values as freedom from wage exploitation, racial equality, political representation, and the maintenance of the bonds of family and society cannot be measured in terms of income *per capita*. . . ."

Plainly, the first step toward a better life for the Nyasa people is independence from white rule *in all its forms*.

The British Government is in law . . . supreme authority in Nyasaland. We demand, therefore, that it assert its authority and:

1. Order all troops to be at once withdrawn from Nyasaland, thus putting an end to bloodshed.
 2. Order the immediate release and return to their homes of all those wrongfully arrested in connection with the attempted suppression of the Nyasaland African National Congress.
 3. Grant Nyasaland immediate independence, so fulfilling its obligations to change the status of the country only in accordance with the wishes of the people.
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WE CALL UPON ALL who are in sympathy with the Nyasa people in their anti-federation struggle to help by protesting vigorously to the Government and making the legitimate, democratic demands of the Nyasa people their own in their protest.

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